
A
COLLECTION
OF

Speeches, Prefaces, Letters, &c.

WITH A
DISCRPTION
OF

Geneva and Holland, &c.

COLLECTION

of the

DISSEMINATION

of the

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Speeches, Prefaces, Letters, &c.

With a Description of

GENEVA
AND

HOLLAND:

BY

Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum.

To which is added,

His Citation to answer in *Scotland* for
High-Treason: Together with his Answer,
and Three Letters writ by him upon that
Subject to the Earl of Middlētoune.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year, 1713. Price 1 s. 6 d.

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Subject to the High Tribunal.

LONDON:

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A
DISCRIPTION
O F
GENEVA.

GENEVA, is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little State, but it has so many good Constitutions in it that the greatest may justly learn at it. The Chamber of the Corn has always two Years Provision for the City in Store, and forces none but the *Bakers* to buy of it at a Taxed Price, and so it is both necessary for any extremities, under which the State may fall, and is likewise of great advantage ; for it gives a good Yearly Income, that has help'd the State to pay near a Million of Debts contracted during the Wars, and the Citizens are not oppress'd by it, for every Inhabitant may Buy his own Corn as he pleases, only Publick Houses must Buy from the Chamber. And if one will compare the Faith of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter, for if good Works are a strong Presumption, if not a sure Indication of good Faith, then Justice, being a good Work of the first Form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the Pope Buys in all the Corn of the Partimony, for none of the Landlords can sell it either to Merchants or *Bakers*. He Buys it at Five Crowns their Measure, and even that is slowly and ill payed, so that there was 800000

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Crowns

Crowns owing upon that Score when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the Measure is lessened a fifth Part, and the price of the whole is doubled, so that what was Bought at Five Crowns is sold out at Twelve: And if the *Bakers* who are obliged to take a determined quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the Chamber Discounts to them only the first Price of Five Crowns: Whereas in *Geneva* the Measure by which they Buy and Sell is the same, and the Gain is so inconsiderable that it is very little beyond the common Market Price, so that upon the whole matter the Chamber of the Corn is but the Merchant to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate Gain by the Corn, that, and all the other Revenues of this small Common wealth are so well imployed, that there is no cause of complaint given in the Administration of the publick Purse: Which, with the advantages that arise out of the Chamber of the Corn, is about 100000 Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this; Three Hundred Soldiers are Payed, an *Arsenal* is maintained, that in proportion to the State is the greatest in the World, for it contains Arms for more Men than are in the State: There is a great number of Ministers and Professors, in all Twenty Four, payed out of it besides all the Publick Charges and Offices of the Government. Every one of the lesser Council of Twenty Five having a Hundred Crowns, and every *Syndic* having Two Hundred Crowns Pension: And after all this come the accidental Charges of the Deputies, that they are obliged to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy* and to *Switzerland*, so that it is very apparent no Man can enrich himself at the Cost of the Publick. And the appointments of the little Council are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly Four or Five Hours a Day. The Salary for the Professors and Ministers is indeed small, not above Two Hundred Crowns, but to Ballance this, which was a more competent Provision when it was first set off 150 Years agoe, the Price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightened, those Employments are here held in their due Reputation, and the richest Citizens

Citizens in the Town breed up their Children so as to qualify them for those Places. And a Minister that is suitable to his Character is thought so good a Match, that generally they have such Estates either by Succession or Marriage as support them suitably to the Rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a Regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprizing thing to see so much Learning as one finds in *Geneva*; not only among those whose profession obliges them to Study, but among the Magistrates and Citizens, and if there are not many Men of the first Form of Learning among them, yet every body almost here has a good Tincture of a Learned Education, insomuch, that they are Masters of the Latin, they know the Controversies of Religion and History, and they are generally Men of good Sense.

There is an universal Civility, not only towards Strangers, but towards one another, that Reigns all the Town over, and leans to an excess: So that in them one sees a mixture of a *French* openness, and an *Italian* exactness; there is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick Justice of the City is quick and good, and is more commended than the private Justice of those that deal in Trade; a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the Town well. There is no publick Indulgence Tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great Address. And notwithstanding their Neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little known among them. One of the best parts of their Law is the way of Selling Estates, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Sub-hastation*, from the *Roman* Custom of selling *Subhasta*. A Man that is to Buy an Estate agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the Government; who order three several Proclamations to be made Six Weeks one after another, of the intended Sale, that is to be such a Day, when the Day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the Estate is Sold at an under value may outbid the Buyer; but if they do not interpose, the Buyer delivers the Money to the State, which upon that gives him his Title to the Estate, which can never be so much as brought under a debate in Law, and the Price is paid into

the State, and is by them given either to the Debtors of the Seller, if he owes Money, or to the Seller himself.

This Custom prevails in *Swisse*, where also twelve years possession gives a Prescription, so that in no place of the World are the Titles to Estates ; so secure as here.

The Constitution of the Government is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the *Cantons*. The Sovereignty lies in the Council of 200, and this Council chuses out of its Number 25, who are the Lesser Council ; and the Censure of the 25, belongs to the Great Council, they are chosen by a sort of Ballot, so that it is not known for whom they give their Votes, which is an Effectual method to suppress Factions and Resentments ; since in a Competition no man can know who Voted for him or against him.

Yet the Election is not so carried, but the whole Town is in an Intreigue concerning it : for since the being of the little Council leads one to the *Syndicat*, which is the chief Honour of the State ; this Dignity is courted here, with as active and solicitous an Ambition as Appears elsewhere for Greater Matters. The 200 are Chosen and Censur'd by the 25, so that those two Councils, which are both for Life, are Checks One upon Another.

The Magistracy is in the One, and the Sovereignty in the Other ; the Number 25 is never exceeded in the Lesser Council, but for the Greater, though it passes by the Name of the Council of 200, there is commonly 8 or 10 more so that notwithstanding the Absence or Sicknefs of some of the Number they may still be able to call together near the full Number. There is Another Council besides these Two, composed of 60, consisting of those of the 200 that have born Offices, such as Auditors, Attorney-Generals or those that have been in other Employments, which are given for a determinate Number of Years : this Court has no Authority, but is called together by the 25, when any Extraordinary occasion makes it Adviseable for them to call for a more General Concurrence, in the Resolutions that they are about to Form. And this Council is of the Nature of a Council of State, that only gives Advice, but has no Power in it self to enforce its Advices,

The

The Whole Body of the Burgesſes chuſe the *Syndics* the *Fiſt Sunday* of the Year, and there are ſome other Elections that do likewise belong to them; the Difference between Burgesſes and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought or given to Strangers, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a Citizen but he that is the Son of a Burgeſs, and that is Born within the Town.

I need ſay no more of the conſtitution of this Little Republick, its chief ſupport is in the Firm Alliance that has ſtood now ſo long between it and the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is ſo viſibly the Intereſt of all *Switzerland* to preſerve it as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the *Cantons* had not forgotten their Intereſt ſo palpably in ſuffering the *French* to become Maſters of the *Franche Comte*, One would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering *Geneva* to be Touch'd.

All that can be done in Fortifying the Town, can ſignifie no more, but to put it in caſe to Reſiſt a Surprise or Scale: ſince if a Royal Army comes againſt it to Beſiege it in Form, it is certain, that unleſs the *Switzers* come down with a Force able to Raiſe the Siege, thoſe within will be Able to make a very ſhort Reſiſtance.

I paſt the Winter at *Geneva*, with more ſatisfaction than I had thought it was poſſible for me to have found any where out of *England*: Tho' that received great Allays from the moſt lamentable Stories that we had every Day from *France*: But there is a ſorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the moſt publick Acknowledgments poſſible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in any one particular; but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with. That which pleaſed the moſt, was of a more publick Nature; before I left *Geneva*, the Numbers of the *Engliſh* were ſuch, that I found we could make a ſmall Congregation, for we were Twelve or Fourteen: So I addreſſed my ſelf to the Council of XXV. for liberty to have our own Worſhip in our own Language, according to the *Engliſh* Liturgy. This was immediately granted in ſo obliging

obliging a manner, that as there was not one Person that made any exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know that in Case our Number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church they would grant us one. which had been done in Queen Mary's Reign: But till then we might hold our Assemblies as we thought fit: So that after that time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every *Sunday* our Devotions according to the Common Prayer, Morning and Evening: And I Preached in a Room that was indeed too large for our small Company, but there being a considerable number in *Geneva* that understand *English*, and in particular, some of the Professors and Ministers, we had a great many Strangers that met with us, the last *Sunday* I gave the Sacrament according to the way of the Church of *England*, and upon this occasion I found a general Joy in the Town, for this, that I had given them an opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our Church; and as in their publick Prayers they always prayed for the Churches of *Great Britain*, as well as for their King, so in private discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our Constitutions, and they spoke of the unhappy Divisions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us, upon the account of our Government and Ceremonies with great regret, and dislike. I shall name to you only two of their Professors, that as they are Men of great Distinction, so they were the Persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is Mr. *Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his Indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and wasted his Strength: Amidst all the affluence of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was Born, one discerns in him all the Modesty of an Humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance, or rather beyond; and there is in him such a melting Zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the Seriousness of Piety and Devotion which shews itself both in private Conversation and in his most Edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Trochin*, a Man of a strong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgement; who has all his Thoughts well digested: His
Conversation

Conversation has engaging charms in it that cannot be resisted. He is a Man of extraordinary Vertue, and of a readiness to oblige and serve all Persons, that has scarce any measures. His Sermons have a Sublimity in them that strikes the Hearer, as well as it Edifies him. His Thoughts are Noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine and Exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it, temper'd with all the Softness of persuasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them, and Triumphs over them. In such Company it was no wonder if time seemed to go off too fast so that I left *Geneva* with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the Isle of *Britain*.

A

P O S T C R I P T.

IN the Account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary Person that is there, *Mistress Walkier*; her Father is of *Schaff house*, she lost her sight when she was but a Year Old, by being too near a stove that was very Hot: There rests in the upper Part of her Eye so much sight, that she distinguishes Day from Night; and when any Person stands between Her and the Light, she will distinguish by the Head and its Dress, a Man from a Woman; but when she turns down her Eyes she sees nothing: She hath a vast Memory; besides the *French* that is her natural Language, she speaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*: She hath all the *Psalms* by Heart, in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: She understands the Old Philosophy well, and is now studying the New: She hath studied the Body of Divinity well, and hath the Texts of the Scriptures very ready: On all which Matters I had long Conversations with her; She not only Sings well, but

the Plays rarely upon the Organ ; and I was told she played on the Violin, but her Violin was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly : In Order to her learning to write, her Father who is a Worthy Man, and hath such Tenderness for Her, that he furnished Her with Masters of all Sorts, ordered Letters to be carved in Wood, and she by feeling the Characters formed such an Idea of them, that she writes with a *Crayon* so distinctly, that Her writing can be well read, of which I have several Essays. I saw Her Write, she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined ; she hath a Machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her always in Line. But that which is above all the rest ; she is a Person of extraordinary Devotion, great Resignation to the Will of God, and of profound Humility : The Preceptor that the Father kept in the House with Her, hath likewise a wonderful Faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came first to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he spoke not a word of *French*, and within Thirteen Months he Preach'd in *French* correctly, and with a good Accent : He also began to Study *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the End of the following *February* he Preach'd in *Italian* ; his Accent was good, and his Stile was florid, which was very extraordinary, for the *Italian* Language is not spoken in *Geneva*, though the Race of the *Italians* do keep up still an *Italian* Church there.

A
DISCRIPTION
O F
HOLLAND.

I will not say one Word of the Country into which I am now come ; for as I know that is needless to you on many Accounts, so a Picture, that I see here in the *Stadthoufe* ; puts me in mind of the perfectest Book of its kind, that is perhaps in being ; for Sir *William Temple*, whose Picture hangeth here at the upper End of the *Pleneporentia-ries*, that negotiated the Famous Treaty of *Nimieguen*, hath indeed, set a Pattern to the World, which is done with such Life, that it may justly make others Blush to Copy after it ; since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an Account of the other Places, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the noblest Parcels of the Universe, Travelling would become a needless Thing, unless it were for Diversion ; since one findeth no further Occasion for his Curiosity in this Country, than what is fully satisfied by his rare Performance. Yet I cannot give over Writing, without reflecting on the Resistance that this Place made, when so many other Places were so bately delivered up ; tho' one doth not see in the Ruins of the Fortifications here, how it could make so long a Resistance : Yet it was that, that stem'd the Tide of a Progress, that made all the World stand amazed, and it gave a little Time to the

Dutch, to recover themselves out of the Consternation, into which so many Blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a Change, that tho' it hath not so much Incense given to it, as the happy Conjecture of another Prince hath drawn after it, with so much Excess, that all the Topicks of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet it will appear to Posterity one of the most surprizing Scenes in History; and that which may be well matched with the Recovery of the *Roman* State, after the Battle of *Cannæ*. When a Young Prince, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seem a Campaign, who had little or no Council about him, but that which was suggested from his own Thoughts, and that had no extraordinary Advantage, by his Education, either for Literature or Affairs, was of a sudden set at the Head of a State and Army, that was sunk with so many Losses; and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it; and the powerfulest Enemy in the World, surrounded with a Victorious Army, that was commanded by the best Generals that the Age has produced, come within sight, and settle his Court in one of the best Towns, and had at some time the greatest Force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its Destruction: When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an Enemy, to let loose that which on all other Occasions, is the most dreadful to them; and to drown so great a part of their Soul, for the Preservation of the Rest? And to complicate together all the Miseries that a Nation can dread, when to the general Consternation with which so dismal a Scene possessed them, a Distraction within Doors, seemed to threaten them with the last Strokes; and while their Army was so ill disciplin'd, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almost Thirty Years continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the most concerned in their Preservation, was, like a great Paralitick Body, liker to fall on those that is presented to support, and to crush them, then to give them any considerable Assistance: When I say, a young Prince came at the Head of all this, the very Prospect

spect of which, would have damp't an Ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the Scene; he animated the publick Councils with a generous Vigour : He found them sinking in a Feebleness of hearkning to Propositions for a Peace, that were as little safe as they were honourable, but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such infamous Terms. His Credit also among the Populacy seemed to inspire them with a New Life, They easily perswaded themselves, that as one WILLIAM Prince of ORANGE had formed their State ; so here another of the same Name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of Courage, which he derived from his own Breast, and infused into the whole People ; as well as into the Magistrate, that preserved this Country. Something there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again settled, and the People were at quiet when they saw him vested with a full Authority for that Time with Relation to Peace and War, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his Hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the Interest of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the Advantages that were offered to himself, (in which you know I write upon some Grounds) He refused the offer of the Sovereignty of its chief City, that was made to him, by a solemn Deputation, being satisfied with that Authority, which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much Glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon Establish'd Laws and Liberties, is fatal even to those that seem to get it. He thus began his publick Appearance on the Stage, with all the Disadvantages, that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for ; since it was visible that he had nothing to trust to, but a good Cause, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage : Nor was Success wanting to such noble Beginnings ; for he in a short Time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this State out of so desperate a Distemper, took some Places by main force ; and obliged the Enemy to abandon all

that they had acquired in so feeble a Manner. And if a raw Army had not always Success against more Numerous, and better trained Troops, and if the want of Magazines and Stores in War, made that he could not post his Army, and wait for favourable Circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to Action, with a hast that his Necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the Beginnings of a Victory out of the Hands of the greatest General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferiour to his, when the other was too Cautious to hazard an Engagement, and in short, the forming the *Dutch* Army to such a Pitch, that it became visibly Superior to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with Conquests: And the continuing the War, till the Prince that had sacrificed the Quiet of *Europe*, to his GLORY, was glad to come and treat for Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very Place, and to set all Engines on work, to obtain that by the Mediation of some, and the Jealousies of other Princes. All these are such Performances, that Posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the Idea's of what an imaginary Hero could do, then with what could be readily transacted in so short a Time; and in such a Manner. And in Conclusion, every Place that belong'd to these States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored, these Provinces do now see themselves under this happy Conduct, re-established in their former Peace and Security. And tho' some Scars of such deep Wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves, considered on all Hands, as the Bulwark of Christendom, against the Fears of a New Monarchy, and the Preservers of the Peace and Liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harvest, not for forced Rhetorick, or false Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere Historian, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all the Luscious Panegyricks of Mercenary Pens. But a small or counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible Advantages, when a true one of great Value need only to be shewed, I cannot end with a greater Subject, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that I cannot after this bring

my Pen down to Lower Matters, so I dare not trust my self too long to the Heat, that so noble an Object inspires, therefore break off abruptly,

YOURS.

An ACCOUNT of the Commission for Re-
 veiwing the *English* Liturgy, in King *William*
 and Queen *Mary's* Life time ; from his Lord-
 ships Triennial Visitation Charge, 1704.

IN the Reign of King *James*, those of the Church who saw the *Papists* drawing in the *Dissenters* to concur with them in their Designs against the Church, applied to the then Prince of *Orange*, desiring him to make use of his Interest in them for diverting them from that. And in those Letters which are yet Extant : Assurances were given, That the Church was then in such a Temper, so well-convinced of former Errors, that if ever she got out of that Distress, all those Differences would be certainly made up : And to make this Assurance more Publick, the Arch-bishop and Bishops in that Petition, for which they were Imprisoned and Tryed, declared, That they were ready to come to a Temper in those Matters both in Parliament and Convocation. Upon this it was, that the Prince of *Orange* promised in his Declaration, to use his Endeavours to heal all those Divisions : In order to the performing this, he, by a special Commission appointed all those Bishops who owned his Authority, He being then set on the Throne, together with a great many of the Clergy, to draw out the Grounds upon which the *Dissenters* had separated from Us, and to offer Expedients in order to the healing our Breaches. We had before us all the Books and Papers that they had at any time offer'd, setting forth their Demands, together with many Advices and Propositions, which had been made

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at several Times, by most of the Best and most Learned of our Divines, of which, the late most Learned Bishop of *Worcester* had a great Collection. So we prepared a Scheme to be laid before the Convocation, but did not think that we our selves, much less that any other Person, was any way limited, or bound to comply with what we resolved to propose. On the contrary, we said, if we saw better Reason, we would change our Minds. Yet this, which was only a Council created by the King to prepare Matters, was complain'd of, as an imposing on the Convocation, and as a Limiting of it ; and tho' a Royal License was sent them, yet a previous Resolution was taken, *to admit of no Alterations* When we saw that, we resolved to be quiet, and leave that Matter to better Times : But then, the Enemies of the Civil Government began to Work on the Jealousies and Fears of many Well-minded Men, and the *Preserving the Church* was given out as a *Word*, by those who meant *France* or *St. Germans* by it ; and under this fatal Delusion many are apt to be misled to this Day.

*Arch-bishops Tillotson's manner of Sickness
and DEATH.*

HE kept nothing in Reserve for his last Hours, he was still ready waiting for them, so he could not be surprized, though every Body else was. The first Attacks came upon him while he was in that Employment in which he delighted most, at Church, and in the Worship of God : He bore them with the usual Neglect of himself ; and tho' his Countenance shew'd he was Ill, he would neither interrupt nor break off from those Sacred Exercises, nor make hast to look after his Health. Ah ! the Unhappy Neglect of a Life that deserved so well to be carefully preserved ! The Fit came on slowly, but seemed to be Fatal : All Symptoms were Melancholy. It soon turned to a Dead Palsey ; the Oppression was so great, that it became very uneasy for him to speak ; but it appeared that his Under-
standing

standing was still clear, though others could not have the Advantage of it: He only said, That *He had no Burden on his Conscience*. All Remedies proved ineffectual: He expressed no Concern to Live, nor Fear to Die, but patiently bore his Burden, till it sunk him on the Fifth Day, and in the Sixty Fifth Year of his Age.

His CHARACTER.

HIS first Education and Impressions were among those who were then called *Puritans*, but of the best sort. Yet even before his Mind was open'd to clearer Thoughts, he felt somewhat within him, that Disposed him to larger Notions and a better Temper. The Books which were put in the Hands of the Youth of that Time were generally heavy; he could scarce ever bear them even before he knew better Things: He happily fell on *Chillingworth's Book*; which gave his Mind the Ply that it held ever after, and put him on a true Scent. He was soon freed from his first Prejudices, or rather, he was never Master'd by them; yet he still stuck to the Strictness of Life to which he was Bred, and retain'd a just Value, and a due Tenderneſs for the Men of that Perswaſion; and by the Strength of his Reason, together with the Clearneſs of his Principles, he brought over more serious Persons from their Scruples, to the Communion of the Church; and fix'd more in it than ever I knew--- That which gave him his last Finiſhing, was his close and long Friendſhip with *Bishop Wilkins*. He went into all the best Things that were in that Great Man; but so, that he perfected every one of them: For tho' *Bishop Wilkins* was the more Universal Man, yet He was the Greater Divine, if the one had more Flame, the other was more Correct. Both acted with great Plainneſs and were raised above regarding Vulgar Cenſures.

Having Dedicated himself to the Service of the Church, and being sensible of the great Good that might be done, by a plain and Edifying Way of Preaching; he was very little disposed to follow the Patterns then set Him, or indeed those of former Times. And so he set a Pattern to himself, and such a One it was, that 'tis to be hoped it will be long
and

and much followed. He began with a deep and close Study of the Scriptures, upon which, he spent Four or Five Years, till he had arrived at a true Understanding of them: He Studied next all the Ancient Philosophers and Books of Morality: Among the Fathers, *St. Basil*, and *St. Chrysostome*, were those he chiefly read: Upon these Preparations, he set himself to compose the greatest variety of Sermons, and on the best Subjects, that perhaps any one Man has ever yet done. His joining with Bishop *Wilkins* in pursuing the Scheme of an Universal Character, led him to consider exactly the Truth of Language and Stile, in which no Man was happier, and knew better the Art of preserving the Majesty of Things under a simplicity of Words; tempering these so equally together, that neither did his Thoughts sink, nor his Style swell; keeping always the due mean between a low Flatness, and the Dresses of false Rhetorick--- He read his Sermons with so due a Pronuntiation, in so sedate and solemn a Manner, that they were not the feeblers, but rather the perfecters, even by that way which often lessen's the Grace, as much as it adds to the Exactness of such Discourses.

He look'd on the whole Complex of *Popery*, as such a Corruption of the whole Design of Christianity, that he thought it was Incumbent on him to set himself against it with the Zeal and Courage which became that Cause, and was necessary for those Times. He thought Idolatry and Superstition of the Church of *Rome*, did enervate true Piety and Morality; and that their Cruelty was such a Contradiction to the Meekness of Christ, and to that Love and Charity which he made the Character and Distinction of his Disciples and Followers; that he resolved to Sacrifice every Thing, except a good Conscience, in a Cause, for he had resolved, if it should come to Extremities, to become a Sacrifice himself.

His Enemies were not wanting in the Arts of Calumny--- His endeavouring to make out every Thing in Religion from clear and plain Principles, and with a Fulness of Demonstrative Proof, was laid hold on to make him pass for one that could believe Nothing that lay beyond the Compass of Humane Reason: And his tender Method of Treat-
ing

ing with *Dissenters* ; his endeavours to extinguish that Fire, and to Unite us among Our selves, against those who understood their own Interest well, and pursued it closely, enflaming our Differences, and engaging us into violent Animosities, while they shifted sides, and still gained Ground whether in the Methods of Toleration, or of a strict Execution of Penal Laws, as it may serve their Ends ; those Calm and Wise Designs of his, I say, were represented as a want of Zeal in the Cause of the Church, and an Inclination towards those who departed from it. But how unhappily Successful soever they might be, in infusing those Jealousies of Him into some warm and unwary Men, he still went on in his own Way : He would neither depart from his Moderation, nor take Pains to cover himself from so false an Imputation.

After the Restoration of the Church, Anger upon those Heads, was both more in Fashion, and seem'd more excusable : Men coming then out of the Injustice and Violence by which they had been so long ill used, and were so much provoked ; yet neither that nor the Narrowness of his Fortune, while he needed Supports, and saw which was the shortest way to arrive at them, could make him change his Strain. A Benefice being offer'd him in the Country, he once intended to have left this great Scene, and gone to that Retirement, where he spent almost a Year : But he was happily recalled by that Honourable Society, for whom he always retain'd just Impressions of Gratitude. And tho' in the Intervals of Terms, he could have given a large Part of the Year to his Parish ; yet so strict he was to the Pastoral Care in the Point of Residence, that he parted with it, even when his Incomes here could scarce Support him.

I need not tell you for how many Years, and with what Labour and Success, he divided himself between that Society and this Place [*Lincoln's-Inn and his Lectureship at St. Laurence's Church.*] The Numerous Assembly that this Lecture brought together, even from the remotest Part of this wide City, the great Concourse of Clergy Men, who came hither to form their Minds ; the happy Union that thereby the Clergy of this great Body grew into, and the

Blessed Effects this had ; are Things which it is to be hoped an Age will not wear out of Mens Minds ; Some great Charity, some Publick Service, or good Design, was the Work of most of those Days.

Those great Preferments to which his Extraordinary Worth seemed to have forced some who had no kindness to him, to advance him afterwards, had no other Effect on him, but to enlarge his Capacity of doing Good : He neither slacken'd his Labours, nor advanced his Fortunes by them : He did not content himself with such a *Residence* as answer'd the *Statute* ; considering his Obligations to attend at Court ; but gave as much of his Time and Labours to his *Cathedral*, as could agree with his Obligations here. He neither aspired nor hearken'd to the Motions of a further Advancement, and all that he desired upon this Happy Revolution, was such a Change as did considerably lessen his Income, but deliver'd him from the Invidious Load of having Two Dignities. He bore this in the former Reigns, because the Practice was Common ; and he was enabled by it, to go far in his Charities : But as he intended to put a stop to that Abuse, so he resolved to set an Example to others in it.

He did truly rejoyce in the Happy Deliverance of these Nations : He could not but observe those amazing Steps of Providence that accompanied it, and hoped it was a Beginning to great Blessings that were to follow it. Many of those who had longed for it, and wish'd well to it, did of a sudden start back : And some in High Stations of the Church, would neither openly declare for it, nor Act against it, according to the Authority of their Characters : One of which they certainly ought to have done. If they did then judge it so unlawful as they would now represent it, they ought to have Thunder'd, both with their Sermons and Censures against it.---

Our Sovereigns, after a long Forbearance, beyond the Term prefixed by Law, resolved at last to fill the vacant Sees : And that great Judgement which they had shewn upon other Occasions, made them soon settle on Him as the fittest Person to steer this Church. It is well known how long, and how earnestly he withstood this---That which

which went the deepest in his own Mind, and which he laid out the most earnestly before their Majesties, was, that those Groundless Prejudices with which his Enemies had loaded him, had been so industriously Propagated; while they were neglected by himself; that he believed, that He, who (as his Humility made him think) could at no Time do any great Service; was less capable of it now than ever. But their Majesties persisting in their Intentions, he thought it was the Voice and Call of God to him, and to be submitted---But he formed Two settled Resolutions from which he never departed. The One was, that whensoever the State of their Majesty's Affairs was such, that he could hope to be dismissed from that Post; he would become a most Importunate Suitor to be delivered from it. The other was, That if the Infirmities of Age should have so overtaken Him, that he could not go through the Fatigue and Labours of it; then he would humbly offer it up to their Majesties.

He had one great Encouragement in that High, but Invidious Station, which was not only the constant Favour of their Majesties, but that which gave him a Support of another Nature, since the other was only Personal, and so was regarded by one that consider'd Himself very little; was, That he perceived in them such serious Designs, so true a Zeal, and so Right a Judgment in all the Concerns of Religion and of this Church, that he often said, *He did not think that any Age had produced Princes, who understood the True Interest of our Church so well, and were so much set on Promoting them, as their Majesties were.* A Zeal he observed in them, that was so tender and yet so well guided, that he did indeed expect greater Blessings from it, than so Corrupt an Age is either capable of, or can well deserve and hope for.

But as this was the greatest, so it was almost the single Satisfaction that he enjoyed in his Elevation: While he was from other Hands assaulted with the most Boistrous, the most Injurions, as well as the Falsest Calumnies that Malice could invent. And yet how False soever these were generally known to be, the Confidence with which they were averred, joined with the Envy that accompanies a

High Station, had a greater Operation than could have been imagined ; considering how long he had lived on so publick a Scene, and how well he was known. It seem'd a new and unusual Thing, That a Man who in a Course of above Thirty Years had done so much Good, so many Services to so many Persons ; without ever once doing an ill Office, or a hard Thing to any one Person : Who had a sweetness, and Gentleness in Him, that seem'd rather to lean to Excess, should yet meet with so much Unkindness and Injustice---Nor had this any other Effect on him, either to change his Temper or his Maxims ; though perhaps it might sink too much into Him, with relation to his Health. He was so exactly true in all the Representations of Things or Persons that he laid before their Majesties ; that he neither rais'd the Characters of his Friends, nor sunk that of those that deserved not so well of Him ; (I love not to say Enemies) but offer'd every thing to them with that Sincerity that did so well become him, that Truth and Candor was almost perceptible in every Thing he said or did : His Looks and whole Manner seem'd to take away all suspicion concerning him ; for he thought nothing in this World was worth much Art, or great Management. With all these things he struggled, till at last they overcame him ; or rather he overcame them, and escaped from them.

His Life was not only free from Blemishes, which is but a low Size of Commendation, it shined in all the Parts of it. In his Domestick Relations, in his Friendships, in the whole Commerce of Business, he was always a Pattern easie and Humble, Frank and Open, tender Hearted and Bountiful, Kind and Obliging, in the Greatest, as well as in the Smallest Matters. A Decent, but Grave Chearfulness made his Conversation Lively and Agreeable, as it was useful and Instructing. He was ever in good Humour, always the same both Accessible and Affable : He heard every thing patiently ; was neither apt to Mistake, nor to Suspect : His own great Candor disposing him to put the best Constructions, and to judge the most favourably of all Persons and Things. He pass'd over many Injuries, and was ever ready to forgive the greatest, and to do all good Offices even to those
who

who had used Him very ill. He was never Imperious nor Assuming : And tho' he had a superior Judgement to most Men, yet he never dictated to others. Few Men had observed Humane Nature more carefully, could judge better, and make large Allowances for the Frailties of Mankind, than he did. He lived in a due Neglect of his Person, and Contempt of Pleasure ; but never affected Pompous Severities. He despised Wealth, but as it furnished him for Charity, in which he was both Liberal and Judicious.

Thus his Course in the private Virtues and Capacities of a Christian, was of a sublime Pitch : His Temper had made him incapable of the Practices, either of Craft or Violence.

In his Function he was a constant Preacher, and diligent in all the other Parts of his Duty : For, tho' he had no Care of Souls upon him, yet few that had, laboured so painfully as he did, in Visiting the Sick, in Comforting the Afflicted, and in settling such as were either shaking in their Opinions, or troubled in Mind. He had a great Compass in Learning, what he knew he had so perfectly digested, that he was truly the Master of it. But the Largeness of his Genius, and the Correctness of his Judgement, carried him much farther than the Leisure he had enjoyed for Study, seem'd to furnish Him, for he could go a great way upon general Hints.

*The Arch-bishop's and the rest of his Suffragan's
of the Province of Canterbury's Declaration, in
Favour of the Bishop of Sarum's Exposition of the
XXXIX. Articles.*

I. **I**T is our Opinion that the Lower House of Convocation has no manner of Power judicially to censure any Book.

II. That the Lower House of Convocation ought not to have entred upon the Examination of a Book of any Bishop of this Church, without first acquainting the President and Bishops with it.

III.

III. That the Lower House of Convocation's Censuring the Bishop of *Sarum* in general Terms, without mentioning the particular Passages on which the Censure is grounded, is Defamatory and Scandalous.

IV. That the Bishop of *Sarum* by his Excellent History of the Reformation, approved by both Houses of Parliament, and other Writings, hath done great Service to the Church of *England*, and justly deserves the Thanks of this House.

V. That tho' private Persons may expound the Articles of the Church, yet it cannot be proper for the Convocation at this Time to approve, and much less to condemn such private Expositions.

Pretended Grounds of Complaint made by Dr. *Woodward* Dean of *Salisbury*, against the Bishop of that Diocese and his great Benefactor to whom he ow'd his Preferment, to the Lower House of Convocation, of which he was Prolocutor, and by them Presented to the Upper, with the Bishop's Answer upon that Head.

HIS Lordship of *Sarum* held his Triennial Visitations constantly in Person, and the Parochial Clergy as in Duty bound, paid their Attendance in a Regular and respectful manner. But the Dean of *Sarum* as Rector of *Peusy*, declined his Appearance at the Time and Place of Visitation, without making any reasonable Excuse, but rather aggravating his Absence by such Signs of Contempt, as made it evidently an Ill Example, and obliged his Lordship to order a Citation, as in a usual Method, before any Priviledge of Convocation did obtain or was pretended: When the Time of Priviledge did afterward commence, his Lordship order'd his Chancellor to put a *Seet* upon the Cause, and there was no further Proceeding

in it. This light Matter was to be improved into a Grievance, and a Remonstrance upon it, so on *February the 9th*, 1701, this Form of Complaint was presented to the Arch-Bishop and Bishops.

“ Whereas it is the antient undoubted Right of every
 “ Person summon’d to the Convocation of this Province by
 “ his Majesty’s *Writ*, and your Grace’s *Mandate* thereupon,
 “ to be Priviledged from all Suits, except for Breach of the
 “ Peace, during the Time of its Assembling. And whereas,
 “ it appears to Us, That the Reverend Dr. *Woodward*, a
 “ known Member of this House, and also Prolocutor of
 “ it, is at this Time, (or has lately been) Prosecuted by the
 “ Order of the Right Reverend *Gilbert* Lord Bishop of
 “ *Sarum*, in a certain Cause of pretended Contempt and
 “ Disobedience; and that *George Frome* lately the Proctor
 “ of the said Dean in this Cause, was on *Tuesday the 27th*,
 “ or *Wednesday the 28th* of *January* last, Admonished in
 “ the said Lord Bishop’s Consistory, to appear and Answer
 “ in iron the *Tuesday* following, which Days are within
 “ the Time of the Sitting of this present Convocation:
 “ We the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation be-
 “ ing aggrieved in this Fact, not only by the Unlawful
 “ Molestation of a Member of our House, but by the In-
 “ jury offered to the whole Body of the Convocation, in
 “ the Person of the Referendary, between the Two Houses
 “ of it, do humbly beseech your Grace and your Lord-
 “ ships, do effectually to deal with the Right Reverend the
 “ Lord Bishop of *Sarum*, that the said Prolocutor may be
 “ freed from this Unlawful Visitation, and that the Rights
 “ of the particular Members of the Convocation, and the
 “ Honour of the whole Body, so publicly violated by so
 “ Eminent a Member of it, may not suffer by the Ill Ex-
 “ ample, but may have some proper Reparation made, such
 “ as your Lordships in your Wisdom and Justice, shall
 “ think fit.

This Complaint however singular, was not rejected by his Grace and the Bishops, They received it, and consider'd it, and returned this Answer to it.

“ **T**H E Arch-bishop as President of the Convocation,
 “ together with his Brethren and Suffragans will always
 “ take Care to maintain the just Rights of the Lower
 “ House, and particularly their Privilege of Exemption
 “ from Suits.

“ And therefore having upon Occasion of this Address
 “ enquired into the Matter of Complaint, against the Lord
 “ Bishop of *Sarum* contained therein, they have received
 “ this Account of the Matter of Fact from the said Bishop
 “ of *Sarum*: That the Proceedings against Dr. *Woodward*
 “ as Rector of *Penry* (now the Referendary of the Lower
 “ House) were begun at a Time when there was no Privi-
 “ lege: And that upon the Opening of this present Con-
 “ vocation, his Lordship did order his Chancellor to put a
 “ *Stet* upon the Cause, by whom, he is assured, That nor-
 “ withstanding no Privilege was pleaded, nor so much as
 “ any Motion made to suspend further Proceedings, he did
 “ nevertheless put a *Stet* upon it. Nor was there any Cita-
 “ tion or Process decreed against the said Doctor, since the
 “ Opening of this Convocation.

“ This being the State of the Case, the Arch-bishop and
 “ his Brethren cannot see what Ground there was for Com-
 “ plaint; and think you had done well to have been better
 “ assured, That the Matter was such as it was Represented
 “ to you, before you had charged it with the hard Terms of
 “ an *Unlawful Molestation* and *Vexation*, and Demanded
 “ *Reparation* upon it. Whereas by this Misrepresentation
 “ of the Bishops Proceedings in this Case, it plainly appears
 “ to whom Reparation ought to be made.

THE
CITATION
OF

GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

To answer in Scotland, on the 27th of June, Old Stile, for High Treason: Together with his Answer: And Three Letters writ by him upon that Subject, to the Right Honourable the Earl of Middleton, his Majesty's Secretary of State.

I Know the Disadvantages of pleading ones Innocence, especially when he is prosecuted at the Suit of his Natural Prince, to whom he owes so profound a Duty: And this has kept me so long in a respectful silence, after I had seen my Name in so many *Gazettes*, aspersed with the blackest of all Crimes: But there is both a time to be silent, and a time to speak. And as hitherto I have kept my self within the bounds of the one, so I do now take the Liberty which the other allows me: But I was not hitherto silent where I ought to speak; for I have made many humble Addresses to his Majesty, by the Earl of *Middleton* his Secretary of State; hoping that my Innocence, joined with my most humble Duty, would have broke through all those Prejudices and false Informations with which my Enemies had possessed his Majesty against me.

Upon the first Notice that I had of his Majesty's having writ to the *Privy Council* in *Scotland*, ordering *Process* to be issued out against me for *High Treason*, I writ my *First Letter*: In that, I could enter into no Particulars; for in the Advertisement that was sent me, it was said, that there was no special Matter laid to my Charge in the *King's Letter*. Some days after that, I received a Copy of my *Citation*, to which I presently writ an *Answer*, and sent that with my *Second Letter* to the same *Noble Person*; to both these *Letters* I received no Answer; but I was advertised, that some Exceptions were taken at some words in my *First Letter*, and this led me to write my *Third Letter*, for explaining and justifying those Words. I have kept my self thus within all those Bounds that I thought my Duty set me; and am not a little troubled, that I am now forced to speak for my self. I have delayed doing it, as long as I had any reason to hope, that my Justification of my self was like to produce the Effect which I most humbly desired, and which I expected: But now the *Day* of my Appearance being come, in which it is probable *Sentence* will pass against me, since I have had no Intimations given me to the contrary, I hope it will not shew either the least Impatience, or the want of that Submission, which I have on all Occasions payed to every thing that comes to me from that Authority, under which God had placed me, that I publish these Papers for my own Vindication. If it had been only in defence of my *Life* and *Reputation*, that I had been led to appear in such a manner, I could have more easily restrained my self: And have left these to be Sacrifices to the Unjust Rage of those, who have so far prevailed on his Majesty's readiness to believe them, as to drive this Matter so far; but the Honour of that *Holy Religion* which I profess, and the Regard I bear to that *Sacred Function* to which I am dedicated, lay such Obligations on me, that I am determind by them, to declare my Innocence to the World; which I intend to do more copiously within a little while: But in the mean time, I hope the following *Papers* will serve to shew how clear I am of all the Matters that are laid to my charge.

There

There is one Particular, which is come to my knowledge since I writ my Answer, that will yet more evidently discover my Innocence : I have received certain Informations from *England*, that both Sir *John Cocbran* and his Son, and Mr. *Baxter*, have declared upon many occasions, and to many Persons, that they cannot imagine how they come to be cited as *Witnesses* against me ; that they can scarce believe it can be true ; since they know nothing that can be any way to my Prejudice ; and that they must clear me of all the Matters objected to me in this *Citation* : and the two *Witnesses*, that as it seems are cited for that *Article* that relates to *Holland*, have solemnly declared, that they know nothing relating to me, or to the Matters specified in this *Citation*, which one of them has signified to my self in a *Letter* under his Hand ; so that the Falseness of this *Accusation* is so evident, that it serves to discover the Folly, as well as the Impudence of those who have contrived it.

But it is yet too early to set on a *Persecution* for *Matters of Religion* ; therefore Crimes against the *State* must be pretended, and fastned on those whom these Men intend to destroy. And as foul and black Scandals are invented to Defame me, and put in the Mouths of those who are ready to believe and report every thing that may disgrace me, without considering that they do a thing that is as unbecoming them, as it is Base and Injust in it self ; so all Arts are used to destroy me ; but I trust to the Protection of that GREAT GOD, who sees the Injustice that is done me, and who will in his own Time and Way vindicate my Innocence ; and under him I trust to the Protection of the *HIGH AND MIGHTY STATES OF HOLLAND AND WEST-FRIESELAND*.

MY FIRST
LETTER
 TO THE
 Earl of *MIDDLETOUNE*.

May it please your Lordship,

THE Affairs of these Provinces belonging to your Lordship's Share in the Ministry, lead me to make this most humble Address to you, and by your Lordship to his Majesty.

I have received Advertisement from Scotland, that the King has writ to the Privy Council, ordering me to be proceeded against for High Treason against his Person and Government: and that pursuant to this, the King's Advocate has cited me to appear there. If any thing in this World can surprise or disorder me, this must needs do it: For as few have writ more, and preach'd oftner against all Sorts of Treasonable Doctrines and Practices than my self, so all the Discoveries that have been made of late Years, have been so far from aspersing me, that tho' there has been Disposition enough to find fault with me, yet there has not been Matter given so much as for an Examination. It is now Thirteen Years since I came out of Scotland; and for these last Five Years, I have not so much as mentioned the commonest News in any Letter I have writ to any in that Kingdom: I do not mention Acts of Indemnity, because I know that I do not need the Benefit of them. I went out of England by his Majesty's Approbation; and I have stayed out of it, because his Majesty expressed his dislike of my returning to it. I am now upon the Point of Marrying in this Country, and am naturalized by the States of Holland: But tho' by this, during my stay here, my Allegiance is translated from his Majesty to the Sovereignty of this Province, yet I will never depart from the profoundest respect to his

his Sacred Person, and Duty to his Government. Since my coming into these Parts, I have not seen any one Person, either of Scotland or England, that is Outlaw'd for Treason : And when the King took Exceptions at the Access I had to the Prince and Princess of Orange, there was not any of this kind then objected to me. So I protest unto your Lordship, I do not so much as imagine upon what it is that those Informations, which it seems are brought to his Majesty, are founded.

My Lord, As I am not ashamed of any thing I have done, so I am not affraid of any thing that my Enemies can do to me : I can very easily part with a small Estate, and with a Life of which I have been long weary ; and if my Engagements in this Country could dispense with it, I would not avoid the coming to stand my Tryal : But as this cannot be expedied in the State in which I am, so I humbly throw myself at His Majesties Feet, and beg, that he may not condemn me so much as in his Thoughts, till I know what is the Crime that is objected to me, that so I may offer a most humble Justification of my self to him. I shall be infinitely sorry if any Judgment that may pass on me in Scotland, shall oblige me to appear in Print in my own Defence : For I cannot betray my own Innocence so far as to suffer a thing of this Nature to pass upon me, without Printing an Apology for my self ; in which I will be forced to make a Recital of all that Share that I have had in Affairs these Twenty Years past, And in which I must Mention a vast Number of Particulars, that I am affraid will be displeasing to His Majesty : And as I will look on this as one of the greatest Misfortunes that can possibly befall me, so with all the Duty and Humility in the World, I beg I may not be driven to it. I will not presume to add one Word to your Lordship, nor to claim any sort of Favour or Protection from you. For I address my self only to your Lordship, as you are the Kings Minister for these Provinces.

My Lord, I am with all possible Respects,

May it please your Lordship,

At the Hague, May
the 10th, 1687.

Your Lordships, &c.

THE

T H E
CRIMINAL LETTERS

At the Instance of the

Lord Advocate,

A G A I N S T

Dr. GILBERT BURNET.

" JAMES, &c. To our Lovits, &c. Heralds, Purse-
" vants, Macers and Messengers at Arms, Our Sheriffs
" in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute,
" Greeting. Forasmuch as it is humbly meaned and
" complained to Us be our Right Trustie and Familiar
" Councillor, Sir John Dalrymple the Younger, of Stair,
" our Advocat for our Interest, Upon Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

" That where, notwithstanding by the Laws and Acts
" of Parliament, and constant Practique of this our King-
" dom, the venting of Scandalous, Treasonable and Ad-
" vised Speeches and Positions, and the Reproaching our
" Person, Estate and Government, and the Recepting,
" Supplying, Ayding, Assisting, Intercommoning with, and
" doing Favours to denounced Rebels, or forfaulted Trai-
" tors, are punishable by Forfaulture of Life, Land and
" Goods, and particularly by the 134 Act of 8 P.K. Ja.
" 6. It is Statute Ordained that non of our Subjects, of
" whatsoever Degree, Estate or Quality, shall presume or
" take

" take upon Hand, privatelie or publicklye, in Sermons,
 " Declamation, or Familiar Conferences, to utter any
 " False, Sclanderous or untrue Speeches, to the Disdain,
 " Reproach, or Contempt of Us, our Council or Proceed-
 " ings, or to the Dishonour, Hurt or Prejudice of Us, or
 " to meddle in our Affairs or Estate bygone, present, or
 " in tyme coming, under the Pain of Death, and Confis-
 " cation of Moveables. And be the 10 Act 10 P. K. Ja.
 " 6. It is Statute Ordained, that all our Subjects con-
 " taine themselves in Quyerneis and dutiful Obedience to
 " Us, our Government and Authority; and that non of
 " them presume nor take upon Hand publicklye to declame
 " or privatelie to speak or write any Purpose of Reproach,
 " or Sclander against our Person, Estate or Government,
 " or to deprave our Laws and Acts of Parliament, or mis-
 " construe our Proceedings, whereby any Dislike may be
 " moved betwixt Us, our Nobility and Loving Subjects
 " in tyme coming, under the Paine of Death; and that
 " thes that do in the contrair shall be repure as Seditious
 " and wicked Instruments, Enemies to Us, and the Com-
 " mon-weel of this Realm, and that the said Paine of
 " Death shall be inflicted upon them with all Rigour in
 " Example of others. And be the second Act 2. Sess. of
 " the first Parliament of K. C. 2. We and our Estates of Par-
 " lament do declare, that in thes Positions, that it is Lawful
 " for Subjects upon pretence of Reformation, or any other
 " pretence whatsomewere to enter into Leagues or Covenants,
 " or to take up Arms against Us, or thes Commissionat by
 " Us, or to put Limitations upon their due Obedience and
 " Allegiance, are Rebellious and Treasonable; And that
 " all Persons who shall by wryting, Preaching, or other
 " Malitious and advysed Speaking, Expres the Treason-
 " able Intentions, shall be proceeded against and adjudged
 " Traitors, and shall suffer forfaiture of Life, Lands
 " and Goods, lyke as by the Third Act 1. P. of K. Ja. 1.
 " and 37. Act of his Second Parliament, and be the 9.
 " Act of 13. P. K. *James* 2. and 144. Act 12. P. K. *James*
 " 6. And Diverse and Sundry other Laws and Acts of
 " Parliament of this our Kingdom, It is declared High-
 " Treason for any of our Subjects to Recept, Supply or
 " In-

“ Intercommon with declared or Forfaulted Traitors, or
 “ give them Meat, Drink, Hous, Harbour, or any Re-
 “ lief or Comfort, and if they do in the Contrair, they
 “ are to undergo the same Pains the said Traitors or
 “ Rebels ought to have sustained, if they had bein ap-
 “ prehended.

“ *Nevertheless*, It is of Verity, that the said Doctor
 “ *Gilbert Burnet*, shaking off all Fear of God, Conscience
 “ and Sense of Dury, Allegiance and Loyalty to Us his
 “ Sovereign and Native Prince, upon the Safetie of whose
 “ Person and Maintinance of whose Sovereign Authority
 “ and Princely Power, the Happines, Stabilitie and Quyet-
 “ nesses of our Subjects depend, *Hes* most perfidiously and
 “ treasonably presumed to commit, and is guilty of the
 “ Crimes above mentioned in sua far as *Archbald Campbel*,
 “ sometime *Earl of Argyle*; *James Stewart*, Sone to Sir
 “ *James Stewart*, sometime *Provost of Edinburgh*; *Mr.*
 “ *Robert Ferguson*, sometime Chaplain to the late *Earl of*
 “ *Shaftsbury*; *Thomas Stewart of Cultness*; *William Den-*
 “ *holm*, sometime of *Westsheils*; *Master Robert Martin*,
 “ sometime Clerk to our Justice-Court; and several other
 “ Rebels and Traitors, being most justly by our high
 “ Courts of Parliaments, and Justice Court, Forfaulted for
 “ the Crimes of Treason, and fled to our Kingdom of
 “ *England*, and to *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Geneva*, and several
 “ other Places. The said Doctor *Gilbert Burnet* did upon
 “ the First, Second, and remanent Days of the Month of
 “ *January*, *February*, and remanent Months of the Year
 “ One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Two, One Thousand
 “ Six Hundred Eighty Three, One Thousand Six Hun-
 “ dred Eighty Four; or *January*, *February*, *March*, or *Aprile*,
 “ One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Five; Convertie,
 “ Correspond, and Intercommon with the said *Archbald*
 “ late *Earl of Argyle*, a Forfaulted Traitor, and that with-
 “ in the said Doctor *Burnet* his Dwelling-Hous in *Lincolns-*
 “ *Inne Fields*, near the Plow Inn in our City of *London*, or
 “ Suburbs thereof, or some other part or place within our
 “ Kingdom of *England*, Defamed, Scandered, and Re-
 “ proached, and Advisedlie spoke to the Disdain and Re-
 “ proache of our Person, Government and Authority,

“ wrote

" wrote several Letters, and received Answers thereto from
 " the said Forfaulted Traitor when he was in *Holland*, or
 " elsewhere, expressely contrair to his Duty and Alleg-
 " ance to Us his Sovereign Lord and King. And sulklick
 " upon the First, Second, and Third Dayes of the Months
 " of *May, June, July, August, September, October, Novem-*
 " *ber and December*, One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty
 " Five, and upon the First, Second, and Third Days of
 " the Moneths of *January, February*, and remanent Moneths
 " of the Year One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Six, and
 " First, Second, and Third Days of the Moneths of *Janu-*
 " *ary, February, March*, One Thousand Six Hundred Eigh-
 " ty Seven; or any or other of the Dayes of any or other
 " of the said Months or Years: The said Doctor *Gilbert*
 " *Burnet* did most treasonable Recept, Supplied, Aided;
 " Assisted, Converled and Intercomoned with, and did Fa-
 " vours to the said *James Stewart, Mr. Robert Ferguson,*
 " *Thomas Stewart, William Denholm*, and *Mr. Robert Mar-*
 " *tyn*, forfaulted Traitors and Rebels in the Cities of
 " *Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Leyden, Breda, Geneva*; or some
 " other part or place within the *Netherlands*, or elsewhere;
 " publicly and avowedly uttered several Speeches and Po-
 " sitions to the Disdain of our Person, Authority and Go-
 " vernment; continues and persists in such undutiful and
 " treasonable Practises against Us and Our Government
 " (We being his Sovereign Lord and Prince) expressely con-
 " trair to his Allegiance and Duty. By committing of the
 " whilk Crimes above specifyed, or either of them, the
 " said Doctor *Burnet* is guilty and culpable of the Crime of
 " *High Treason*, and is Art and Part thereof, which being
 " found be any Inquest, he ought and should to suffer For-
 " faulture of Life, Land and Goods, to the Terror and
 " Example of others to commit the like hereafter. Our
 " *Wiel is*, theirfore, and we charge you straitlie, and Com-
 " mand, that incontinent this our Letter seen, yee pass,
 " and in our Name and Authority, Command and Charge
 " the said Doctor *Gilbert Burnet*, above complained upon
 " be sound of Trumpet with displayed Coat, and using
 " other Solemnities necessar, to come and find sufficient
 " Caution and Sovertie acted in our Books of Adjournal,

“ that he shall compeir before our Lord’s Justice General,
 “ Justice Clerk and Commissioners of Justiciary, within the
 “ *Tolbuith* or Criminal Court Hous of *Edinburgh*, the
 “ Twentie Sevinth Day of *June* next to come, in the Hour
 “ of Caus, there to underlie the Law for the Crymes above
 “ mention’d, and that under the Pains contained in the
 “ New Acts of Parliament; and that yee charge him per-
 “ sonally, if he can be apprehended and falizeing thereof at
 “ his Dwelling Hous, and be open Proclamation at the
 “ Mercat Crofs of the head Burgh of the Shyre, Stewartie,
 “ Regalitie, and other Jurisdiction where he dwells, to
 “ come and find the said Sovertie acted in manner forsaide
 “ within Six Dayes, if he be within this our Kingdom, and
 “ if he be out with the Samyne, that ye command and
 “ charge him in manner forsaide be open Proclamation at
 “ the Mercat Crofs of *Edinburgh*, Peer and Shoar of *Leith*,
 “ to come and find the said Sovertie within Threescore
 “ Days next after he is charged be you thereto under the
 “ Paine of Rebellion, and putting of him to our Horne.
 “ Whilk Six and Threescore Days respectively being by-
 “ past, and the said Sovertie not being found, nor no In-
 “ timation made be him to you of the finding thereof, that
 “ ye incontinnit thereafter denunce him our Rebel, and
 “ put him to our Horne, Elcheat, and inbring all his move-
 “ able Goods and Geir to our use for his Contemption and
 “ Disobedience. And if he come and find the said Sove-
 “ vertie, Intimation always being made be him to yow of
 “ the finding thereof, that summon’d and Affyse hereto, not
 “ exceeding the Number of Fourtie Five Persons, together
 “ with such Witneses who best know the Veritie of the
 “ Premisses, whose Names shall be given you in Roll sub-
 “ scribed by the said Complainor. Ilk Person under the
 “ paine of ane Hundred Merks. And that ye within
 “ Fistein Days after his Denunciation for not finding of
 “ Caution, caus registrate thir Our Letters with your Ex-
 “ ecutions thereof, in Our Books of Adjournal con-
 “ forme to the Act of Parliament made there-anent. Ac-
 “ cording to Justice as ye will antwer to us thereupon,
 “ the whilk to doe Committs to you conjunctly and seve-
 “ rallie Our full Power be thir Our Letters, delyvering
 “ them

(35)

“ them to be you duellie Execute and Indorsat again to
“ the Bearer. Given under our Signet at *Edinburgh* the
“ Nynteinth Day of *Aprile*, and of Our Reign the Third
“ Year, 1687. *Ex deliberatione Dominorum Commissionario-*
“ *rum Justiciarii sic subscribitur.*

Signed 19.
Apryle, 1687.

THO. GODDONNE.

T H E
W I T N E S S E S
A G A I N S T
Dr. *GILBERT BURNET*, are.

Sir John Cochran of Ockiltree.

John Cochran of Wattersyd.

Mr. Robert West, Lawyer, *Englishman*.

Mr. Zachary Bourne, Brewer, *Englishman*.

Mr. William Carstaires, Preacher.

Robert Baird, Merchant in *Holland*.

Mr. Richard Baxter, Preacher.

A N
A N S W E R
 T O T H E
Criminal Letters,
ISSUED out against M E.

I Look upon it as a particular Misfortune, that I am forced to answer a *Citation* that is made in His *Majesty's* Name; which will be ever so sacred with me, that nothing but the Sense of an Indispensible Duty could draw from me any thing that looks like a contending with that sublime Character.

I owe the Defence of my own *Innocence* and of my *Reputation* and *Life* to my *self*: I owe also to all my *Kindred* and *Friends*, to my *Religion*, as I am a *Christian* and a *Protestant*, and to my *Profession*, as I am a *Church-Man*, and above all, to His *Majesty*, as I am his *born Subject*, such a Vindication of my *Loyalty* and *Integrity*, as may make it appear, that my not going to *Scotland*, according to the Tenour of this *Citation*, does not flow from any Sense of Guilt or Fear, but meerly from those *Engagements* under which I am in *Holland*,

I hope my contradicting or refuting the Matters of Fact set forth in this *Citation*, shall not be so maliciously perverted by any, as if I meant to reflect either on His Majesty for writing to his Council of Scotland, ordering this *Citation* to be made, or on his *Advocate* for forming it, and issuing it out. But as I acknowledge, that upon the *Information* it seems was offered of those Matters here laid against me, it was very reasonable for His Majesty to order Justice to be done upon me ; so his *Advocate*, in whose hands those *Informations* it seems are now put, had all possible reason to lay them against me, as he has done ; and therefore I will not pretend to make any Exception to the Laws and Acts of Parliament, set forth in the first part of this *Citation* ; but I will only answer the matters of Fact laid to my charge ; and whatsoever I say concerning them, does only belong to my false Accusers ; and therefore I hope they will not be look'd on as things in which even his Majesties *Advocate*, but much less his Sacred Majesty, is any way concerned.

I am first accused for having seen, conversed with, and held correspondence with the late Earl of *Argyle* : and to make this appear the more probable ; the place is marked very Critically, where I lived ; and where, as it is pretended, we met. But it is now almost two Years since the late *Argyle* was taken and suffered, and that a full account was had of all his secret Practices, in all which I have not been once so much as mentioned, tho' it is now a Year since I have lived and Preach'd openly in these *Provinces*. The truth is, that for nine Years before the late Earl of *Argyles* forfeiture, I had no sort of correspondence with him, nor did I ever see him since the Year 1676. After his escape out of Prison I never saw him, nor writ to him, nor heard from him, nor had I any sort of Commerce with him, directly nor indirectly ; the Circumstance of my House, and the place in which I lived, is added, to make the thing look somewhat probable : But tho' it is very easy to know where I lived, and I having dwelt in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* the space of seven Years, it was no hard matter to add this particular ; yet so Inconsiderate is the Malice of my Enemies, that even in this, it leads them out of the way

way ; for soon after *Argyle's* Escape, and during the stay that, as is believed, he made in *London*, I had removed from *Lincolns Inn-Fields* into *Brook Buildings* ; this makes me guess at the Informer, who saw me often in the one House, but never in the other : And yet even he, who has betrayed all that ever past between us, has not Impudence enough to charge me with the least Disloyalty, tho' I concealed very few of my thoughts from him.

With this of my seeing the late *Argyle*, the Article of the Scandalous and Treasonable words pretended to be spoken by me to him, against His Majesties Person and Government, falls to the ground ; it is obvious that this cannot be proved, since *Argyle* is dead ; and it is not pretended that these words were uttered in the hearing of other Witnesses ; nor is it needful to add, that His Majesty was then only a Subject, so that any Words spoken of him at that time cannot amount to Treason ; but I can appeal to all those with whom I have ever conversed, if they have ever heard me fail in the respect I owed the King : And I can easily bring many Witnesses from several parts of *Europe*, of the Zeal with which I have on all occasions expressed my self on those Subjects ; and that none of all those hard Words, that have been so freely bestowed on me, has made me forget my Duty in the least.

I am in the next place accused of Correspondence with *James Stewart*, *Mr. Robert Ferguson*, *Thomas Stewart*, *William Denholm*, and *Mr. Robert Martyn*, since my coming out of *England* ; and that I have entertained and supplied them in Foreign Parts, particularly in the Cities of *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Leyden*, *Breda*, *Geneva*, or in some other parts within the *Netherlands*. This Article is so very ill laid in all its Branches, that it shews my Enemies have very ill Informations concerning my most general Acquaintance ; since tho' there are, among those that are condemned for Treason, some that are of my Kindred and ancient Acquaintance ; they have here cast together a Company of Men who are all (*James Stewart* only excepted) absolutely unknown to me, whom I never saw, and with whom I never exchanged one word in my whole life, as far as I can remember ; one of them, *Mr. Robert Martyn*, was as I ever understood it,
dead

dead above a Year before I left *England* ; as for *James Stewart*, I had a general Acquaintance with him twenty Years ago, but have had no Commerce with him : now for many Years, unless it was that I saw him twice by Accident, and that was several Years before there was any Sentence past on him : My Accusers know my Motion ill, for I have not been in *Breda* these twenty three Years. I settled in the *Hague* upon my coming into *Holland*, because I was willing to be under the Observation of His Majesties Envoy : And I chose this place the rather, because it was known, that none of those that lay under Sentences come to it. I have never gone to *Amsterdam* or *Rotterdam* in secret : And have never been there but upon my private Affairs, and that never above a Night or two at a time ; and I have been so visible all the while that I was in those places, that I thought there was not room left even for Calumny.

In the last place it is said, that I have *publickly and avowedly uttered several Speeches and Positions to the disdain of his Majesties Person, Authority and Government, and that I continue and persist in those Treasonable Practices*. This is so generally Asserted, that it is enough for me to say, it is positively false ; but I have yet clearer Evidence to the contrary of this : I have Preached a whole Sermon in the *Hague* against all Treasonable Doctrines and Practices ; and in particular, against the Lawfulness of Subjects rising in Arms against their Sovereign, upon the account of Religion : And I have maintained this so oft, both in publick and private, that I could, if I thought it convenient, give Proofs of it that would make all my Enemies be ashamed of their Injustice and Malice.

The Witnesses cited against me are, first, *Sir John Cochran* whom I have not seen above these four Years last past, and with whom I have had no sort of Commerce since I saw him. It is almost two Years since he had his Pardon ; so it is probable he then told all that he has ever told concerning me : And it is not likely, that the Matter would have been let lie asleep all this while, if he had said any thing to my prejudice. I confess I have been long acquainted with him ; I look upon him as a Man of Honour ; and I reckon

reckon my self so safe in his Honour, and in my own Innocence, that I do freely release him from all the Obligations of Friendship and Confidence, and wish that he may declare every thing that has ever past between us; for then I am sure he will do me the right to own, that as oft as we talk'd of some things that were complain'd of in *Scotland*, I took occasion to repeat my Opinion of the Duty of Subjects, to submit and bear all the ill Administrations that might be in the Government, but never to rise in Arms upon that account. The next Witness is his Son, whom I never saw but once or twice, and with whom I never entred into any Discourse, but what became a Man of my profession to so young a Person, exhorting him to the Duties of a Christian. The next two are Mr. *West* and Mr. *Bourn*, whose Faces I do not know. After them come Mr. *Carstaires* and Mr. *Baird*. whose Faces I know not neither: It seems these are the Witnesses to be led against me for the Article relating to the *Netherlands*; but as I am wholly a Stranger. to Mr. *Carstaires*, so I do not so much as know if there is such a Person in being as Mr. *Baxter*, I have had no Correspondence at all with him these two and twenty Years; unless it was that once or twice I have met him by accident in a Visit in a third place, and that once about six Years ago I went to discourse with him concerning a matter of History in which we differ'd; but as all our Conversation at that time was in the presence of some Witnesses, so it was not at all relating to matters of State.

And now I have gone over all the Matter that is laid against me in this *Citation*, and have made such Reflections both on the Facts that are alledged, and the Witnesses that are named, as will I hope satisfy even my Enemies themselves, of the Falsehood and Injustice of these Informations So that I presume so far on His Majesty's Justice, as to expect that all the Indignation which is kindled against me, will be turned upon my false Accusers.

To all this I will add one thing further for my Justification, tho' I am fully satisfied it is that which I am not obliged to do, and which if I were in other Circumstances I would not do my self; as I would advise no other Man to do it. For it is a part of that Right that every Man has to preserve himself

himself by all lawful ways, that he do not accuse himself, and by consequence, that he do not purge himself by Oath of matters objected to him ; and I do not so well approve of the *Courts of Inquisition*, as to give countenance to a practice which was first set on foot by them, of requiring Men to answer upon Oath to Matters objected to them. If I were not a Church-man I would not do this which I am about to do ; as I declare I will never do it again, let my Enemies lay to my charge what they please. But the regard I have to this *Sacred Function* to which I am dedicated, makes me now once for all, offer this solemn purgation of my self. *I attest the Great God, the Searcher of all Things, and the Judge of all Men, that all the Matters of Fact laid to my Charge in this Citation are utterly groundless, and absolutely false.* This I am ready to confirm with my Corporal Oath, and to receive the Sacrament upon it.

And now I hope I have said enough to satisfy His Majesty concerning my Innocence, so that I am confident he will not only discharge all further proceedings against me, upon this Accusation, but that he will express his Royal Displeasure against my False Accusers. But if the Power of my Enemies, and their credit with His Majesty is still so great, that this matter shall be carried farther, and that advantage shall be taken from my not appearing in *Scotland*, to proceed to a Sentence against me, which some brutal Men now in the *Hague* are threatening before hand, that they will execute it : I then make my most humble Appeal to the Great God, the King of Kings, who knows my Innocence, and to whom my Blood will cry for Vengeance, against all that may be any way concerned in the shedding of it. He will at the Great Day judge all Men righteously, without respect of Persons : It is to him that I fly, who I am sure will hear me. Judge me, O God, accordingly to the Integrity that is in me.

GILBERT BURNET.

*At the Hague in Holland the
17. May Old Style, 1687.*

G

My

MY SECOND
 LETTER
 TO THE
 Earl of MIDDLETOUNE.

May it please your Lordship,

THE Copy of the Citation against me, has been sent me out of Scotland, since I took the Liberty to write last to your Lordship ; this puts me on a Second Address to you, for conveying the enclosed Answer, which I most humbly lay down at his Majesty's Feet. I am confident that the Falshood of the Matters objected to me, will appear so evident to His Majesty, as well as to all the World besides, that he will not only order the Proceedings to be quite discharged, but that he will also order some Reparation to be made to me, for so publick a Blemish, as even a Citation for so high a Crime amounts to. I confess the many hard Things that have been of late cast on me, and in particular to Young and Old, and Forreigners as well as Englishmen, that have been coming into these Parts, make me see that my Enemies have possessed his Majesty with Thoughts of me, that I must crave leave with all Humility to say, that they are as undeserved as hard. What have I done or said, to draw on me so heavy and so long a continued Displeasure ? But my Comfort lies in the Witness that I have within me, of my own Innocence : So that I dare appeal to God, as I do now with all Duty to his Vicegerent.

Since

Since this Matter is now become so publick, and that my Name is now so generally known; I must not be wanting to my own Innocence, especially when not only my Life and Reputation are struck at, but the Religion that I profess is wounded through my Sides: Therefore till I have put in order my Memoirs for a larger Work, I find it in some sort necessary to print the Citation, together with this Answer: But I had much rather have all this prevented, by an effect of his Majesties Justice, in ordering an end to be put to this Accusation, and that by some Act that may be as publick as the Citation it self was, which may bear His Majesty's being satisfied with my Innocence, as to these Matters; but if I have still as Melancholly an Answer to this, as I have had to all the former Applications I have made, I must maintain my Innocence the best way I can, in which I will never forget that vast Duty that I owe His Majesty, whatsoever I may meet with in my own particular.

If there is any thing either in the Inclosed Paper, or in this Letter, that seems a little too vehement, I hope the Provocation that I have met with will be likewise considered; for while my Life and Reputation are struck at, and while some here are threatenng so high, a Man must be forgiven to shew that he is not quite unsensible: Tho' my Duty to the King is Proof against all that can ever be done to provoke me, yet I must be suffered to treat the Instruments and Procurers of my Disgrace, who are contriving my Destruction, with the plainness that such Practices draw from me. I will delay Printing any thing for a Fortnight, till I see whether your Lordship is like to receive any Order from His Majesty relating to him, who is,

May it please your Lordship,

At the Hague, the 17th of
May Old Stile, 1687.

Your Lordships, &c.

MY THIRD
 LETTER
 TO THE
 Earl of MIDDLETOUNE.

May it please your Lordship,

I Venture once more to renew my Addresses to your Lordship, before I Print the Paper that I sent you by my last of the 17th of May, together with the Two Letters that I writ you: For I find it necessary to add this; and that it go with the rest to the Press.

I am told, that great Advantages have been taken upon an Expression in my First Letter, in which I writ that by my Naturalization during my stay here, My Allegiance was translated from His Majesty to the Sovereignty of this Province; as if this alone was Crime enough: And I hear that some who have been of the Profession of the Law are of this Mind. I indeed thought that none who had ever pretended to study Law, or the general Notions of the Entercourse among Nations, could mistake in so clear a Point. I cautioned my Words so, as to shew that I considered this Translation of my Allegiance only as a temporary thing during my stay here. And can any Man be so ignorant as to doubt of this? Allegiance and Protection are Things by their Natures reciprocal: Since then Naturalization gives a Legal Protection, there must be a return of Allegiance due upon it. I do not deny but the Root of Natural Allegiance remains, but it is certainly under a Suspension, while the Naturalized Person enjoys the Protection of the Prince or State that has so received him, I know what a Crime it had been,

if

if I had become Naturalized to any State in War with the King ; but when it was to a State that is in Alliance with him, and when it was upon so just a ground as my being to be married and settled in this State, as it could be no Crime in me to desire it, so I having obtained it, am not a little amazed, to hear any are so little conversant in the Law of Nations, as to take Exceptions at my Words. Our Saviour has said, that a Man cannot serve two Masters : And the Nature of Things say, that a Man cannot be at the same time under Two Allegiances. His Majesty by Naturalizing the Earl of Feverham, and many others of the French Nation, knows well what a right this gives him to their Allegiance, which no doubt he as well as many others have sworn, and this is a translating their Allegiance with a Witness : That Lord was to have commanded the Troops that were sent into Flanders in 1678. against his Natural Prince : And yet tho' the Laws of France are high upon the Points of Sovereignty, it was never so much as pretended that this was a Crime. And it is so much the Interest of all Princes to assure themselves of those whom they receive into their Protection by Naturalizing them (since without that they should give Protection to so many Spies and Agents for another Prince) that if I had not very good Ground to assure me, that some have pretended to make a Crime out of Words, I could not easily believe it,

My Lord, this is the last Trouble that I will give your Lordship upon this Subject : For it being now a Month since I made my first Address to you, I must conclude, that it is resolved to carry this matter to all Extremities ; and Mr. d'Albevilles Instances against me, and the Threatnings of some of his Country-men, make me conclude, that all my most humble Addresses to His Majesty are like to have no other effect but this, that I have done my Duty in them ; so that it seems I am to be judged in Scotland. I am sorry for it, because this must engage me in a Defence of my self, I mean a Justification of my own Innocence, which I go to, much against my Heart ; but God and Man see that I am forced to it : And no Threatnings of any here will frighten me, for I will do that which I think fit for me to do to Day, though I were sure to be
assas-

affassinated for it to Morrow; but to the last Moment of my Life, I will pay all Duty and Fidelity to His Majesty.

My LORD,

I am with all possible Respects,

At the Hague the 6th of
June Old Stile, 1687.

Your Lordships, &c.

Advertisement.

WHEN I had resolved on the *Printing* these *Papers*, and was writing till the Day should come to which I was cited, I received a New *Advertisement*, that the first *Citation* was let fall, and that I was cited of new to the 15th of *August*, to the Crimes of *High Treason*, upon the Account of *Two Heads* in my first *Letter* to the Earl of *Middleton*: The one is, that by my *Naturalization* I am loosed from any *Allegiance* to His Majesty; and the other is, that I threaten His Majesty with the *Printing* and *Discovering* of *Secrets* that have been so long hid. If after what I have hitherto met with, there were Room left for New Surprises, this would have been a very great one. Those who have advised the King to this way of Proceeding against me, shew that they consider very little the Reputation of His Majesty's Justice; and so I be but Sacrificed, they do not care how much the Kings Honour suffers in it. For First after a *Citation* of *High Treason*, which has made so much noise, that is let fall: Which is plainly to confess, that there is no Truth in all those Matters that were laid to my Charge; and then, where is the Justice of this way of Proceeding

ceeding, to Summon a Man to appear upon the pretence of Crimes, of which they know him to be Innocent? But this new matter is of such a Nature, that it is not easy for me to find words soft enough to speak of it with the decency that becomes me.

This is now more the Cause of the *States of Holland and West-Friesland* than it is mine. It is indeed the Cause of all the Sovereigns in the World, and so it is His Majesties own Cause, who has so often called the Naturalized *French* his Subjects, and by consequence they owe him an *Allegiance*; and so here must be at least a Temporary Translation of their Allegiance made to him from their Natural Prince: And either this must be the same as to those who are Naturalized by the *States* here, or they are not a Sovereign State, and by consequence this Cause is theirs, and not mine; since the Crime of which I am now accused is the acknowledging my self to have become their Subject during my stay here, upon their having granted me the Benefit and Protection of Naturalization; so that either His Majesty was much mistaken in calling the *French* that are Naturalized His Subjects; or it can be no Crime in me to have owned my self to have become a *Temporary Subject* to the *States*.

And if those who have studied the *Roman Law* will reflect a little on the Effects that belonged to the (*Jus Civitatis*) or the Rights that followed on the being made a *Roman Citizen*, which are the same in all Sovereign States, and that Naturalization is with regard to a Prince or State that which Adoption was by the *Roman Law* with regard to private Families, they will see that my Enemies do not reflect enough on the Principles of Law, when they pretend to make me a Criminal upon such an account. If I had been charged for having desired to be Naturalized, I confess there had been some more Colour for it: But since it is now a received Practice over all *Europe*, for the Subjects of one State to procure their being Naturalized in another; it is unaccountable how any can call in question that tie of Allegiance, that he who is Naturalized owes to his New Masters. Nor have my Enemies considered how much this way of Proceeding against me, must sink the Credit of His Majesties

Majesties Naturalizing Strangers : For how can they expect a constant Protection from him, if it is made apparent that the King does not think he has a right to their Allegiance ? And into what a Consternation must it throw them, when they find by my Case that the King looks upon them as so many Traytors for becoming his Subjects, and for swearing Allegiance to him ? For that Oath is sworn in Terms that are plain and full, and that have not the Qualification that I put in my words, of during my stay here ; so that they are much more Criminal than it can be pretended that I am.

The other *Article* is no less Injurious to His Majesty, since they would make a Crime out of my Words, that mention my Fear that he may be displeased at some things that may be in the Apology, that I will be obliged to make for my self, to the Writing and Printing of which a Sentence against me will drive me. If these Men, who have advised this, had the regard to His Majesty, which they owe him, they would not have presumed to infer, that it was a Threatning of His Majesty, when I say, that I must justify my self ; or that any History of past Transactions can be a want of Duty to him ; this Consequence of theirs Intimates that his Life, or the late King his Brothers, cannot bear a true History, otherwise where is the threatning ? But how great a Crime this is, will I hope appear to His Majesty, when he has the leisure to reflect upon it ; yet there may be many particulars that I must necessarily bring in, in the History that I am writing, which have such a Connexion with what relates to my self, that I cannot pass them by ; which yet if it could be avoided, may not be fit for publick View. Now if my Enemies fancy, that it is a Crime for me to justify my self, because they have possessed His Majesty against me ; I could answer this with some framed sayings of *Tacitus*, that would disturb them a little ; and if in an humble Groan that I make before His Majesty, I mention this as a Consideration that may be of some weight with him ; they who can turn this Expression of my Duty and Respect into a Crime, and are successful in the At-
tempt

tempt, have a Talent for which I do not envy them, tho' I my self come to feel the weight of it.

*At the Hague the 27th
of June, Old Style, 1687.*

GILBERT BURNET.

*Dr. BURNET's Vindication of Himself
from the Calumnies with which he is aspersed, in a
Pamphlet, entituled, Parliamentum Pacificum.
Licensed by the Earl of Sunderland, and Printed at
London in March, 1688.*

A Silence for so many Months, in which my Name has been so much tossed in Libels, as well as in Gazettes, has shewed the World, with how much uneasiness I am drawn to say any thing in my own Defence, when so sacred a Name has been made use of to give an Authority to what has been said or done against me: A Christian cannot fail when he goes by so Divine a Pattern as our Saviour himself has set the World. He, when he was accused, for a great while answered not a word; yet at last being required to do it by the High Priest, he spoke for himself: *But when he was reviled, he reviled not again.*

In an humble Imitation of that Example, as I will return no reviling Words, for all those that are so liberally thrown out upon me; so the Justifying of my self, being now become an Apology for the Protection that is granted me by the States of Holland, (whose Subject I am) as well as for my self, I am in some sort forced again to appear in my own Defence. If this Pamphlet had not carried such a License as it has in its Front; and if the States had not been worse used in it, than I my self am, I had passed over all the Malice that is in it, with the same Silence that I have shewed

On other occasions. But it being judged necessary that I should plead my own Cause a little, since the *Protection*, that the *States* give me, has made it now likewise theirs, and that it may appear that they have no just Reason to be ashamed of me, I shall Answer all that relates to my self, except the foul Language that is in it. But as I will repeat nothing that was in the Paper that I publish'd last *June*; in which I set down the first *Citation*, together with the Answer that I made to it, and my Letters to the Earl of *Middletoune*, together with some Reflections upon the whole Matter; so I offer this only as a Supplement to that Paper.

I will begin with setting down the second *Citation*, after I have made this short Remark on the first. That those very Persons, for conversing with whom, I was accused in it, being now pardoned, and in *Scotland*, the Government there, has a sure means in their hands, to know the Falshood of that Accusation: So that those who offered those Informations against me, which gave the rise to all that has since followed, ought to be lookt on as *Calumniators*, and to be punished accordingly; and if any ill chosen Expression had fallen from me in the Letter that I writ to the Earl of *Middletoune*, the Privacy of the Letter, the Respect that was in it, and the Provocation that drew it from me, (an Accusation of High-Treason, which is now evidently made out to be a Calumny) all these, I say, give me some reason to conclude that if a secret Animosity of some of my Enemies that have abused their Credit with the King to my Prejudice, had not wrought more than a regard to Justice, there had not been a second Prosecution, when the first was found to be so ill grounded, that they were forced to let it fall. The *Citation* is in these Words.

" **JAMES** by the Grace of God King of Great Britain,
 " *France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith: To our
 " *Lovits, Heraulds, Purlevants, Macers and Messre* at
 " *armes conjunctly and severally specially Constitute Greet-*
 " *ing.* Forsameikle as it is humbly meant et Complained to
 " us be our right trusty and familiar Councillour Sir *John*
 " *Dalrymple* the younger of *Stair* our Advocate for our In-
 " terest Upon Doctor *Gilbert Burnet*, That wher by the
 " Common

" Common Law, by the Acts of Parliament, and the mu-
 " nicipal Lawes of this Kingdom, the declýning or im-
 " pugning our Sovereign Authority, or putting Treasona-
 " ble Limitations upon the Prerogatives of our Crown, up-
 " on the native Allegiance due by any of our Subjects born
 " *Scots-men*, whether residing within our Dominions or not,
 " are declared to be High-Treason, and punishable by the
 " Pains due and determined in the Law for Treason. Ne-
 " vertheleís it is of verity, That Doctor *Gilbert Burnet*, who
 " is a *Scotsman* by Birth and Education, being cited at the
 " Peir and Shoar of *Leith* at the instance of our Advocat
 " for several Treasonable Crimes to underly the Law by
 " vertue of particular Command from us direct to the Lords
 " of our Privy Council, and ane Act of our said Privy
 " Council hereupon ordering our Advocat to Intent the Pro-
 " ces : Instead of appeiring before the Lords of Justiciary,
 " Doctor *Gilbert Burnet* did write and subscribe a Letter
 " dated at the *Hague* the third day of *May* last directed for
 " the Earl of *Middletoune*, one of our principal Secretaries
 " of State for our Kingdom of *England* : In the which the
 " said Doctor shows that in respect the Affairs of the Uni-
 " ted Provinçes falls to his Lordships share in the Ministry,
 " Therefore he makes the following Addresses to his Lord-
 " ship, and by him to us, and gives ane accompt that he is
 " certiorat of the Proces of Treason execute against him at
 " the instance of our Advocat : And for answer thereto the
 " Doctor Writes, that he hes bein threteen years out of the
 " Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that he is now upon the point
 " of Marrying in the *Netherlands*, and that he is Natura-
 " lized by the *States* of *Holland*, and that thereby during his
 " stay there, his Allegiance is translated from us to the So-
 " veraignty of the Province of *Holland* ; and in the end of
 " his Letter he Certifies, that if this declý natur be not taken
 " of his hand to sist the Proceís, he will appeir in Print in his
 " own Defence, and will not so far berray his own Innocence
 " as to suffer a thing of that nature to pass upon him, In
 " which he will make a recital of Affairs that hes passed
 " these twenty years, and a vast number of particulars
 " which he believes will be displeasing to us : and therefore
 " desires that he may not be forced to it, which is a direct
 " declýning

“ declining of our Authority, denying of his Allegiance to
 “ us, and asserting that his Allegiance is translated from us
 “ to the Sovereignty of the *States of Holland*, And a threat-
 “ ning us to expose, traduce, disparage and bely our Go-
 “ vernment, and the publick Actings for twenty years past :
 “ Tho he acknowledges it will be displeasing to us, Yet by
 “ a most Indiscreet and Disloyal Insolence he threatens to do
 “ it in contempt, Except forsooth we will acquiesse and
 “ suffer the derly natur of our Royal Authoritie, and pass
 “ from the Proces, as having no Allegiance due to us from
 “ the Doctor, &c.

After this follows the form of Law ordinary in such Ci-
 tations, by which I am required to appear on the 9th Day of
August, in order to my Tryal, which was to be six days after
 that, under the Pains of being declared a *Rebel*, and a *Fugitive*;
 and all bears date the 10th of *June*, 1687.

I shall offer only two Exceptions to this, in point of Form ;
 1st, there is no *Special Law* set forth here, upon which I am
 to be *Judged* ; which, as I am informed by those who under-
 stand the Law of *Scotland*, makes the Citation null in point
 of Form, since *High-Treason* is a Crime of such a Nature,
 that no Man can be concluded Guilty of it, but upon a spe-
 cial Law. 2dly, In Criminal matters, no Proofs of any
 Writing upon the Similitude of Hands, are so much as ad-
 mitted by the Law of *Scotland* ; so that all such Proofs are
 only General Presumptions ; and therefore, since there is no
 other Proof that can be pretended in this case ; it is not possi-
 ble according to the grounds and practice of the *Scottish* Law
 to find me Guilty upon this Citation. Upon my not appear-
 ance on the 9th day of *August*, the matter was for some time
 delayed. At last a *Writ* was issued out against me, called
 in the Law of *Scotland*, *Letters of Horning*, because they
 are published with the blast of a *Horn* ; in which I am de-
 clared the King's *Rebel* ; but this is not issued out upon the
 account of the Matter of the Citation, of which no Cogni-
 zance has been taken : But only for my not appearance to
 offer my self to Tryal ; and the Operation of this in Law, is
 only the putting me out of the King's Protection, and the
 present Seizing on my personal Estate, and after a year, the
 Seizing

Seizing any thing that I enjoy for *Term of Life* ; but this Writ does neither affect my *Life*, nor my *Posterity*, nor can an *Estate of Inheritance* be so much as *Confiscated* by it ; and tho' the term *Rebel* is put in it, that word is only a *Form of Law* ; for every Man that does not pay his Debts is liable to such a *Writ*, and he is declared the *King's Rebel*, just as the *Chancery in England* issues out a *Writ of Rebellion* upon Contempts ; so that if the being called a *Rebel* in such a *Writ*, gives the Government a right to demand me, then every Man that retires into *Holland*, either out of *England* or *Scotland*, upon the account of a disorder in his Affairs, may be demanded as soon as any such Writ goes out against him.

As for the Matter of this *Citation*, I said so much upon it in my former *Paper*, that since no Answer has been made to that, I do not think it necessary to say any more than what will occur to me in the Account of the Progress of this Affair. Mr. d'Albeville His Majesties Envoy, did in the Month of *July* last, put in a *Memorial* against me, which being already in *Print*, I shall only offer here the Abstract of it. In the *Preamble* it sets forth, That whereas I had obtained Letters of *Burgership* in the Town of *Amsterdam* : In the *Virtue* thereof, these Letters being presented to the States of *Holland*, by the said Town, I had obtained the Protection of the States : With which I was not satisfied, but by my *Libels* I defamed the King and his Government : Of which it offered Two Instances : One, that I represented my self as Persecuted upon the Account of Religion : Which was so false, that all Religions were tolerated by the King. The other was, that I pretended that my Life was in danger : For which, If I had any Grounds, I ought to have represented it to the King's Ministers in *England*, or to his Minister here : And that it was Notorious that the greatest of all Criminals were in safety here, for fear to draw upon themselves His Majesties Displeasure : Who Abhors such Practices, tho' by the King's Laws every one of his Subjects was warranted to seize on them here, in what manner soever. Upon all which it concluded, That the States ought to punish both me and my Printer, without naming him.

I hope I may without being wanting to the Respect due to his Character, make some Observations on this. It is well known, that I was never made *Burgess of Amsterdam*; so that all the Preamble falls; and it appears, that the *Envoy* has not taken the Pains that Foreign Ministers ordinarily do, to be rightly informed of this Matter, when he began to move in it. I applied my self immediately to the *States of Holland*, in order to my being *Naturalized*, and in my Petition I set forth the Reason of it, which ever since *Solons Laws*, has been thought the justest Ground for it, and that was a *Marriage*, and this was no pretended Colour, for I was *contracted* the same Day. I had lived before that, a Year at the *Hague*, and I saw clearly a Storm coming upon me, yet I had used no Precaution to cover my self from it: But when a *Marriage* and a settlement in *Holland*, made it necessary for me to desire the Rights and Priviledges of the Country, it cannot be thought strange if I petitioned for it: And the *States*, who know how long I had both lived and preached publicly at the *Hague*, under the Eyes of Two of the Kings Ministers, one after another, saw no sort of Reason, so much as to deliberate upon my Petition, but granted it to me as a *Thing of Course*: As for the Matter that His Majesties *Envoy* objected to me, I said nothing in the Paper I printed but what plainly contradicts the first Point: My Words relating to it are, *that it is yet too early to set on a Persecution for Matters of Religion, and therefore Crimes against the State must be pretended and fastned on those whom these Men intend to destroy*. Now it is plain, that by *these Men*, I intend *those* who had Informed against me, the Matters that are in the first Citation; and that being set off as a *Calumny*, too gross to be any longer supported, I had all Reason to pass that Censure on *these Men*. But these Words cannot be supposed to have any Relation to the King, unless in that part of them, that it is yet *too early to Persecute for Matters of Religion*, which import that my *Enemies* dare not attempt to carry His Majesty to that; So that this Period in my Paper is evidently contrary to the Inference that is drawn from it.

The 2d Point is no better grounded: Since I published nothing relating to the *Danger* in which I was, but my *Let-*

ters

fers to the Earl of Middleton; so that I had begun my Complaints to him, but I was never encouraged to go to the naming of particulars. As for that Period, that the greatest of Criminals are here safe from such Attempts, for fear of drawing upon themselves the King's Displeasure: (*de peur de s'attirer*) certainly the Envoy was in haste, when he drew it, for the want of a clear Sense in it, is such, that it cannot be carried off by an Ignorance of the French Tongue, since sure those Criminals are not afraid to Draw upon themselves the King's Displeasure by attempting on themselves. So that some such Words as these (*all His Majesties good Subjects, avoiding such Practices, for fear of drawing upon themselves his Displeasure*) must be supposed to make the Period clear Sense. But if I had any Apprehensions of Danger before this Memorial, they are justly encreased by it; since the Envoy concludes the Paragraph, by saying, *that every one of the King's Subjects were warranted by his Laws, to Seise on such here in what manner so ever* (*a s'y emparer en quelque maniere que ce soit*) *in what manner so ever* does always, on such Occasions, signifie either Dead or Alive. Now when the Kings Envoy did in a Memorial to the States; which was afterwards Printed, assert that this was Law, it is easy to infer from hence, what just Apprehensions this might suggest to me. As for His Desire to have me Punished for that Libel; he did in that Appeal which he made to the Justice of the States, acknowledge me to be their Subject: But if I have by Printing of that or any other Paper, made my self liable to the Punishment of the States, the Complaint ought to have been made in the Form of Law, to the Court of Holland, as it would be in England to the Kings Bench, since the States themselves do not enter into the Prosecutions of Justice, and to that Court I most humbly submit my self, and acknowledge, that if I cannot justify my self of every thing that can be laid to my Charge, they ought to punish me with the utmost Severity of Justice. Since a Man of my Profession, as he ought to be an Example for his Good Behaviour, so he ought to be made an Example of Justice, when he brings himself within the Compass of the Law.

This

This was the first Step that was made in my Affair, which lay in this State till the *Envoy's* Return from *England* in *December* last ; upon which he gave in a long Memorial, of which I was made one Article. He set forth, *that I being now Judged a Rebel and Fugitive in Scotland, the States were bound to deliver me up, or to banish me out of their Dominions, and so he demanded that this might be executed.* Upon this I was called before some of the Deputies of the *States* : And both the *Envoys Memorials* being read to me, I was required to offer what I had to say upon them. I could not but first take Notice of the great Difference that was between them : The *First* complaining of me as a *Subject of the States*, and demanding that I might be punished by them ; and the *Second* demanding me as the *King's Subject*. To the *First*, I answered according to the Reflections that I have already mentioned. To the *Second*, I said, I could not be a *Fugitive*, since I had come out of *Scotland* Fourteen Years ago, and after Eleven Years stay in *England*, had come out of it Three Years ago by the *Kings leave*. As for my being a *Rebel* ; I could answer nothing to that, till I saw the Judgment that had passed upon me : But I was now the *Subject of the States*, and as I humbly claimed their *Protection*, so I pretended to no *Protection* against *Justice* : But offered my self to a Tryal, if any thing was laid to my Charge. This being reported to the *States of Holland*, they were so far satisfied with my Answer, that the Substance of it was put in the Form of an *Answer* to the Two *Memorials* : The whole amounts to this, *that I was become their Subject by being naturalized before this Process was begun against me: So that I am now under their Protection: But if there is any thing to be objected to me, that can bear a Tryal, they will give order that full and speedy Justice shall be done upon it, in the Court of Holland.*

Upon this a 3d Memorial was given in, to which the *Articles* of the *Treaty* between the *King* and the *States*, were annexed, relating to *Fugitives* and *Rebels* ; and it was said in it, that the *States* were bound to execute these with Relation to me, without taking upon them to examine the Grounds upon which the Sentence was past. And because here lies the Strength of the whole Matter, I shall offer such

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Considerations upon it, as will I hope satisfy all Persons.

1. No Sentence is either passed or produced against me ; for I am not declared by any Judgment either Rebel or Fugitive ; and by the 7th Article all *Commendations* ought to be notified by *publick and Authentical Letters* : Which must be understood of a *Record of the Sentence*, that ought to be produced : Whereas there is nothing shewed in my Case, but only a *Memorial*. 2. All Treaties, especially in the *odious Parts* of them, are to be understood according to the common Acceptation of the Terms contained in them, and not according to the particular Forms of any Courts of Justice ; the common Acceptance of *Fugitive*, is a *Man that flies away after a Crime committed, from the Prosecution of Justice* ; and a *Rebel* in the common Acceptation, is a *Man that has born Arms against his Prince* : Since then I am not so much as charged with either of these, I cannot be comprehended in the Article of the Treaty ; for this must be the only Sense, according to which the *States* are bound to deny Harbour to Declared *Rebels* and *Fugitives*. 3. That which puts an End to the whole Matter is, that before I writ that Letter, upon which I am now prosecuted ; I was become a *Subject of the States*, and by Consequence was no more in a Capacity to be either the Kings *Rebel* or *Fugitive*. And the Point of *Naturalizing Strangers*, is now such an universal Practice, that the Right of granting it, is inseperable from *Sovereign Power* : So that either the *States* have this Right, or they are no more a *Free and Sovereign State*. And the Obligations of honour that all *Sovereigns* come under to protect those whom they *Naturalize*, against every thing but their own *Justice*, is no dark point of Law, but is that which every *Prince* Knows and Practices as oft as there is Occasion for it. The King of *France* has used all the *Naturalized Strangers* in the same Manner that he has used his own Subjects in the Point of *Religion* : And tho' the *French Protestants*, that are gone into *England*, are according to the severity of the Edicts passed against them, made *Criminals* for flying out of that Kingdom ; so that according to the Letter of those Edicts they are *Fugitives*, yet the King has received them all, owned them for his Subjects, *naturalized* some, and supplied others of them. by a

Bounty truly worthy of so great a *Prince*; and if the King does this to those of another *Religion*, that do fly out of the Dominions of a *Prince*, with whom he is in Peace; The States could not with any Colour of Reason, refuse to *Naturalize* me who am of their own Religion, when after so long a stay among them, it appeared that the King had nothing to lay to my Charge; and having *Naturalized* me, if they should withdraw their Protection, before I had forfeited it by any illegal Action of mine, they should make a Breach upon the *Publick Liberty*, upon which their Government is chiefly founded. And it is to be observed, that the *Treaty* between the King and *them*, as to the Articles concerning *Rebels* and *Fugitives*, is *Reciprocal*; as all the Ancient *Treaties* between the Crown of England, and the *Princes* of these *Provinces*, before the Formation of the *Common-wealth*, ever were to this particular; so that they can be no more bound to them. Now let us suppose that the King *Naturalizes* a *Dutch-man*, by which he is admitted to all the Priviledges of an *English man*; if the *Dutch* should after that condemn this Person, as guilty of *Rebellion*, the King could not upon the *States* demanding of him, deliver him up or banish him at his Pleasure, since this cannot be done arbitrarily to any *English-man*; without a *legal Tryal* by his *Peers*; and therefore it is plain that my Case does not at all fall within the Articles of the *Treaty*; so that in this whole Matter the *States* have acted as a free State, that was careful to maintain its *Honour*, and to assert its being an *Independents Sovereignty*: And for my own part, I can appeal to all the Members of the *States of Holland*, if I made any Applications to them, as if I would value my self on my being supported in Opposition to the *Emoy's Memorial*; I staid at Home, while the thing was under Consultation, without making *Addresses* to any one of them as to my own particular. It is true, I would not withdraw of my own accord, from my own House, which I thought would have been a forsaking the Rights of the Country, a mistrusting the Protection of my *Sovereigns*, as well as my own Innocence, and an abandoning of the *Post* in which God by his Providence has placed me. And I am resolved rather to run the *Risque* of all *that* with which I

am threatned, than show the least unbecoming fear. I thank God I make use of that common, but Noble Expression, that *I am neither ashamed to die, nor ashamed to live.* I will not go further into Dark Thoughts, tho' I know enough of the Contrivances against me, by an *Order of Men*, whose Souls are as Black as their Habits. Tho' for a great while I thought that the Meannets of my Person was such, that even Success in a design against me could not have counterbalanced the Infamy of it.

Thus I hope thole hard Word of *High Treason* or *Rebellion* will make no Impressions on any to my prejudice: For it is with them, as with *Blasphemy* or *Heresy*, which are very odious Words; but if Mens Passions carry them to apply these to the most Innocent Things, they lose that force which is in them, and this will make the Ancient Observation return into Mens Minds, that Treason was become the Crime of thole (*qui ab omni crimine innoxii erant*) who were free from all Crimes: So when all this Prosecution is so slightly founded, I make no doubt the World will do me Justice in it; and I can as little doubt, that if my Cause could be fairly represented to His Majesty, that he might see it without thole false Colours with which the Malice of my Enemies darken it. He who has of late shewed a Disposition to receive even into his Favour those who were formerly esteemed, both his *Father's* Enemies, his *Brothers* and his *own*, would return to juster and softer Thoughts of me. For since I have done nothing that deserves his *Displeasure*, it would be a greater Crime, than any of which I stand accused, to think that would be lasting.

This *Author* lays several *Papers* to my Charge, but he does not prove that they were writ by me: And I do not think my self obliged to satisfy every spiteful Man; that will fasten all such Things upon me, as he thinks will render me *Odious*. I did solemnly purge my self of the Matters laid to my Charge in the first *Citation*: But I said then, that I would not give my Enemies the Satisfaction of doing *that* any more; or of clearing my self, as oft as they should think fit to lay any thing to my Charge; so when there is any thing brought against me in a legal Way, I make no

Doubt but that I shall be able either to *clear my self of it*,
 or to *justifie my self in it*; But since this *Author* thought
 fit to fasten so many Papers on me, which I have not *owned*.
 he should in common equity and decency, have taken some
 Notice of a *Discourse* which I have *owned*: And that was
 my *Preface to Lactantius's Book of the Death of the Perse-*
cutors; in which I pleaded against Persecution; perhaps
 with more force than most of those who have of late un-
 dertaken the Argument: I carried the Point so far, as to
 include *even the Papists*, in that *General Toleration* which
 I recommended. This I had writ before either the King's *De-*
claration appeared, or that the Proceedings against me were
 begun; but tho' the State of *Affairs* with Relation to my
 self, was upon that altered, and the Point was so *tender*,
 that I had reason to apprehend it might offend many of my
Brethren and best Friends, at a Time when I had no Rea-
 son to make *Enemies* to my self; yet I published it, with-
 out altering it in any one thing. In the Circumstances in
 which I was, I could do nothing more to shew how far I
 was from desiring to imbroil Matters, than when I touched
 so nice a Matter, with so much *Plainness*. As for all the
 other Reproaches with which he pursues me, I think it be-
 low me to answer such a Scribler; but for the sake of the
License, I take the Liberty to say. That I am not afraid,
 neither of the *Calumnies*, nor the *Violences* of my Enemies.
 I lived many Years in *England* under a great deal of Dis-
 pleasure from the *Court*, and yet there never was found the
 least Appearance of any *Guilt* in me, with Relation to the
Government. Many of my Friends have had *Pardons*, and
 by consequence did very probably discover all they knew
 of me: For I have been credibly informed that many have
 been Interrogated, and some under *Torture* with Relation
 to me: But there never appeared the least shadow of a
 guilty Compliance with ill Principles: Not only was I free
 from Accession to *ill Things*, I was free also even from
 Faults of *Omission*, with Relation to the *Publick*; for I
 never failed as oft as I saw the least Occasion for it, to bear
 down all things to disturb the *Publick Peace*, and this both
 in *Books*, in *Sermons*, and in *private Conversation*: And I
 have Compurgators in this Matter, that are *beyond Excep-*
tion,

tion, as well as *above Scandal*. I do not carry this matter fur-
 ther; tho' I could say that which might cover all my Ene-
 mies with *Shame*; and which will perhaps appear to their
 amazement when they may have put an end to my being in
 this World. I have ever gone by the Principles in which I
 was bred up at first, under a Father that from first to last, ad-
 hered to the *King's Cause*, without so much as one stumble,
 or making even an Address of Civility to his Enemies; but
 was as much an Enemy to *Arbitrary Power*, as he was to *Re-
 bellion*, and thought it was as base and unwarrantable a
 thing, for *Subjects* to give up their just and legal *Rights*, as
 it was for them to fly out upon every pretended violation of
 them. In these Principles I have fortified my self, by study
 and observation; and I may *Love* them, for they have stood
 me very *Dear*. I went no further than to assert an *Obedience*
 and *Submission* according to *Law*, when I was Employed to
 assert the *Laws* of *Scotland*, against those who studied to o-
 verturn them, in which it was thought I did the Govern-
 ment some service, and for which the late King was pleased
 to thank me. It is true, I never could descend to the Methods
 of aspiring to *Preferment* that are expected in some *Courts*:
 But if this made some look on me as *sullen* or *affected*, yet it
 might have freed me from the Imputations of being *Malecon-
 tent*, when there are many Vouchers for me, who know that
 I avoided all *Preferment* as Industriouslly, as the most ambi-
 tious do court it. I came under ill Characters both in the
Court, and elsewhere, because first and last I was always a-
 gainst the *Prosecution of the Dissenters*: And I always thought
 that greater endeavours ought to have been used for the Com-
 posing of the small Differences among our selves, and that
 greater gentleness ought to be expressed even to those who
 could not be brought within any terms of reconciliation.
 These were my only *Crimes* and *Heresies*; and for these Opi-
 nions I was represented as a favourer of the *Kings* and the
Churches Enemies. And therefore it cannot but seem strange,
 that I, who was hardly used upon those accounts, should be
 now singled out to be the chief Instance of an unrelenting
 severity. The designs against my *Person* seem not enough to
 satisfy that *Malice* that works so quick against me, but they
 must lash out on my *good name*, and my *Reputation*, which

I confess is the greater tryal of the two to my *Patience*: But tho' with relation to God I must lay my hand on my mouth, and say, that *I am the chief of Sinners*; yet as to all Men I may boldly say, *What have I done?* I hope God will not lay to the Charge of my Enemies, all thole Slanders, and all that Injustice with which they have prosecuted me.

This Author and some others have often given it out, as if I had *Betrayed a Master*; and I may expect the next time, that they will say, that I *Murdered my Father*; for the one is as true as the other. I never had a *Master* but the *King*, for the whole course of my Life raised me above the *serving of any Subject*. A design proposed to me, by one that is now Dead, and therefore shall not be named by me, of bringing in an *Army* out of *Scotland*, for the Spoiling and Subduing of *England*, gave me a just horror at the Proposition, and I did all I could to withstand it. The same *great Person* did quickly take up such a Jealousy of me, that he did all he could to ruin me, tho' His present Majesty, who had then the *Goodness* for me to endeavour to Pacify him, owned to me that he could see nothing in his hatred of me, but a violent Passion: Yet he was resolved to throw me in a Prison, where very probably I had languished away the rest of my Life, if the *King* that now is, had not been so gracious to me, as to warn me of my Danger, which made me leave *Scotland*; and after I had suffered near two years, all that *Wrath* armed with Power, could do to me; at last, while I was under one of the sharp effects of that great Minister's anger, I told a Person of Honour that which I believed was one of the grounds of it. The Gentleman set this so about, that as he himself was a Member of the *House of Commons*, so it was known to a great many others; upon which I was sent for by the *House*; I declined for four several times, to say what had been proposed to me; and at last, being threatned to be prosecuted by the *House of Commons*, as an *Enemy to the Nation*, I was thus unwillingly brought to own it. But that *Great Man* fell no sooner under an Eclipse of Favour, than tho' I had felt the weight of his *Credit* for seven years together, I made not only all the steps necessary for a Reconciliation, but I engaged some then in *Favour*, so far into his Interests, that he expressed a very thankful acknowledgment of it,

it, and a perfect Reconciliation with me: Tho' upon some Reasons of his own, our Meeting was not thought convenient; and his own *Nephew*, who being now of the *Roman* Communion, is a Witness, to whom I may the more freely appeal, brought me very kind Messages from him, and signified them to me after his Death.

As for all the other things that can be objected to me, I pass them over, as things which can very little hurt me. The Author it seems pities *Varillas's* defeated Condition, who as my Friends from *Paris* write to me, does not so much as pretend to justify himself of all those gross Errors of which I have discovered him Guilty; but says, he has received an Order from the King, to insist no more in the Dispute in which he and I were engaged. Our Author will be a very fit Person to succeed to that *Despicable Writer*; who fancies that I contradict my self, in setting forth *Queen Maries Clemency* in one place, and yet shewing in another, how Unmerciful she shewed her self towards those that were condemned of *Heresy*. The best Natures in the World can be corrupted by a false Religion; and they being once possessed with cruel Principles, the more Pious they are, they will be the more true to the Doctrines of their Church, and by Consequence, they will execute all its severe Decrees with an unrelenting Rigour. And we have clear Instances of this in the Age in which we live, of Princes whose Inclinations to *Clemency*, are as well known as the Severities to which the Credit of the *Society* has carried them are *Deplorable*.

There is another spiteful Insinuation with which I shall conclude my *Apology*: This Author finding that the *Matters of State*, of which he had accus'd me, were not like to Blemish me much, resolved to try what he could do in a Subject of another Nature, which was indeed above him; for tho' it seems he is entertained to Scribble upon the *Politicks*, yet the *Matters of Divinity* probably do not lie within his Province; but it seems he thought that any thing was to be ventured on that might Defame me. He represents me as an Enemy to the *Divinity of Jesus Christ*, because of the various Readings of a Verse in *St. John's Epistle*, that I gave from some Ancient *Manuscripts*, which I saw in my *Travels*. And these Men who have of late
studied

studied to make all the World either *Deists* or *Socinians*, if they cannot make them *Papists*, by representing that, unless we believe the *Infallibility of the Church*, we cannot upon good Grounds believe either the *Christian Religion*, or the *Mysteries of it*, and this with so much Heat and Industry, as if their Design were to have us to be any thing rather than *Protestants*; yet will accuse some of our Church of those Doctrines, against which we have writ with greater force than any of our *Calumniators*, (For we have Accusers of the other side too.) All the *Fathers* that writ against the *Arians*, believed those Mysteries, tho' they never cited that Passage, from which it was reasonable to conclude, that it was not in the Bibles; otherwise it is not to be imagined, that such Men as *St. Athanasie* and *St. Austin*, should not have mentioned it; now the many other Places of Scripture, that determine me to believe the *Divinity of the Saviour of the World*, are so clear, that I believe it equally well, whether this Passage be acknowledged to be genuine or not. But having for some Years taken pleasure to compare *Manuscripts*, those of the Holy Scriptures were naturally the most looked into by me; and since a Man that has but a transient View of M. S. S. cannot stay to examine them in many Passages, that Passage being the most Important of all that are controverted, I turned always to it, and have given the Account of what I saw sincerely, both for it, and against it. For I have learned from *Job*, not to lye for God, since truth needs no support from falsehood: And I may well forgive those of a Church, who have Built so much upon *Forgeries* and *Counterfeit Pieces*, to be angry with me, for giving so sincere an account, as I did of a Matter of Fact. But that *Divine Saviour*, whom I adore daily, as God equal with the Father, knows the Injustice that is done me in this, as well as in the other false Accusations with which my Enemies study to blaken me: I can assure them, that I have that Detestation of all *Idolatry*, and of theirs in particular, that I should never adore him as I do, if I did not think him to be by Nature God, over all, blessed for ever.

And now to conclude, if Men will not receive this Vindication of my self, with the Justice that is due to me, I
humbly

humbly commit my Cause to him, *who judges rightiously ; who sees all things, and who will bring to light the hidden Things of dishonesty ; and who will either compass me with his favour as with a Shield, and cover me from the Rage of my Enemies ; or if he lets me fall into their Hands, will accept of the Sacrifice of my Life that I offer to him, and receive me into his Presence, where I shall be at quiet, and safe both from the Strife of Tongues, and from the Pride of Man.*

GILBERT BURNET.

A N
A N S W E R
T O A
L E T T E R
F R O M

Mr. D O D W E L L,

Wherein he owns the *Bishop's* Spiritual Character, but denies his Temporal.

S I R,

I Had yours last Night, and shall give you a very clear Account of the Grounds that led me to use any hard Words with relation to yourself. Many Years ago you

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published Dissertations on *S. Cyprian* ; in one of these you labour'd to lessen one of the glorious Characters of the Christian Religion from the Numbers of the Martyrs : And in the next you began the Account of the Patience and Fortitude of the Martyrs, with the Willfulness of the first Christians, and their Desire of Fame and Vain Glory. It is true, you after that give better Reasons for it ; but cou'd a *Vani-nus*, a *Hobbes*, or a *Spinosa*, say any thing more derogatory to that Glory of our most Holy Faith, than you wrote in those Dissertations ; and tho' what you wrote in the first of these was answer'd, to the Satisfaction of many, you neither vindicated yourself, nor acknowledged your Mistakes, which, in a Matter of that great Importance, you ought to have done.

In your Dissertations upon *Irenæus*, to support a singular Conceit of your own, you shook the Authority of the Canon of Scripture ; and tho' you saw the wicked Use that the impious *Toland* made of it, you neither vindicated your self, nor retracted what you had wrote ; and I have good Reason to believe, that the long Quotation from your Book, fortify'd the Infidelity of the Age with relation to the Canon of Scripture more than any one thing I know.

In your *Latin* Apology, you have struck the Authority of Bishops out of the Scriptures, and put it upon a Conceit of your own ; and you make that Order to have begun but about Twenty Years sooner than *Blondell* had fix'd it ; which will make it pass for a humane Constitution among all those who make the Scripture the only Rule of their Faith.

As for the Schism that you have liv'd in, and are now return'd from, I confess, I think the Grounds of once living in it, and now departing from it, are almost all equally unjustifiable. For Acts vitiated and null in their first Original, do not seem capable of being corrected, or made authoritative by subsequent Accidents. In Matters of Order such a Correction may happen ; but in Matters of Authority deriv'd from Commission, I don't think any Contingencies that may happen can give Authority to that which was a Nullity at first.

As for the Tenet of the Natural Mortality of the Soul, I look on it as destructive of the second Foundation of Na-
tural

tural Religion (the first being the Existence and Attributes of God) so that the inserting it is Introductory to Atheism. And your Performance in that Book which I read thro', has given the greatest Advantage to Infidels, of any Book that has been publish'd these thirty Years. And tho' it has been, I think, fully answer'd by four Persons, whom you have no Reason to despise, and who have discover'd a great want of Sincerity in the Quotations you bring to support your Conceit; yet you have neither justify'd yourself, nor retracted that very mischievous Book.

There are many other Things scatter'd thro' all your Writings which deserve severer Censures than I shall now enlarge on. You are a learned Man, and your Life has not only been without Blemish, but Exemplary; but you don't seem to remember, or enough to consider the Woe our Saviour has denounc'd against those by whom Scandals come; and, according to the true Notion of Scandal, I know no Man has laid more in the Way of the little Ones, or weaker Christians, than you have done. You fill'd the Nation with many new, groundless and uncharitable Conceits, which I am afraid have render'd our Wounds and Breaches incurable; they found Men too much dispos'd to receive your Notions: And I must tell you, upon much melancholy Observation, that even the worst of the Clergy support themselves with them, that their Commission will bear them through, let their Lives or Labours be ever so bad.

I do assure you, I would rather wish that I could neither read nor write, than to have read and writ to such Purposes, as you have been pursuing now above thirty Years. You seem to love Novelties and Paradoxes, and to employ your Learning to support them.

I have often in my Thoughts applied to You, and one or two more whom I could name, a Passage in *Job*, tho' I know the Meaning of it is different from this to which I apply it, *That God hides Pride from Man*. I believe that you are very humble in your Intentions, and so I hope you shall be judged at the great Day; but that you are one of the most conceited Men of the Age, is too visible. I pray God open your Eyes, and take you out of that dangerous Snare. And thus I have written my Thoughts very freely

to you, according to that Authority you seem willing to acknowledge. It will be to no Purpose for you to answer this; for tho' I have taken some Time to write this, yet I shall not carry on any farther Epistolary Commerce with you on these Subjects. If you think fit to give any full Satisfaction to the World in these Matters, you may then build up what you have been hitherto unhappily employ'd to pull down and destroy.

As for what you charge me with as Heretical with relation to the Doctrine of *Non Resistance*, and the Church being independent on the State, I have written on several Occasions fully on these Matters, that I can add little to what I have already publish'd: So I will not trouble either you or myself to repeat any Part of it. I am as much as ever I was for the Doctrine of the Cross in the Case of *legal* Persecution; but an *illegal* one is no better than the Violence of a Robber. And as every Soul ought to be subject to the higher Powers, so I think the Church ought to be subject to the State in every thing that is not against natural Equity, or the positive Laws of God. As far as these go, the Church is independent, and no farther; but now I have done, and will trouble you no more,

As for what you propose concerning the Confirming of your Children. I go round all the Parts of my Diocess, confirming every where once in three Years; and having been in *Berkshire* an Year and an half ago, intend not to be there till Summer come twelve Months; and then, if it pleases God, I will stay a Week at *Windsor*, and intend to come over to *Shortesbrook*, which I declin'd doing hitherto, because you were engaged in the Schism, as well as that Worthy Gentleman Mr. *Cherry*. Now, that ceasing, I will come and do my Duty there. But, if you think your Son ought not to delay this so long, I give you full Liberty to apply yourself to any Bishop as you please, and any of my Brethren, upon seeing this, will perform that Function.

I hope, I have not offended you with the Freedom I have urged in this Letter. I do assure you, I have a just Value for many valuable Things that I know to be in you, and do heartily lament every Thing that is otherwise. I do earnestly

neftly pray to God for you, and beg that His Bleffing may
 reft on you and yours, and am with Sincerity and Refpect,

St. John's Feb.

Yours,

13. 1710-11.

A

S P E E C H

Againft the B I L L to prevent

Occafional Conformity,

Spoken in the

House of L O R D S, 1703.

My L O R D S,

I am very glad to find that how much Heat foever this
 Matter has rais'd Abroad, yet none of that has appear'd
 in all this Debate. If a Heat of Zeal has appear'd in fome,
 yet nothing has been mix'd with it unbecoming the Dignity
 of this Houfe, and the Solemnity of a great Council. It
 is a Difadvantage, efpecially to one of this Bench, to fpeak
 againft any Thing that in the Sound and firft Appearance,
 feems to be intended for the Service of the Church, and I
 am fure, if I were not fully convinc'd, that it is not fo; but
 that how well foever it may be intended by fome, the Ef-
 fects of it will be quite contrary, I could not have a Heart

or a Face to speak against it, but should promote it with all possible Zeal.

I confess I am already bound up as to this Particular, and determin'd by a Promise solemnly made to the Queen. Her Majesty recommended *Union* to us, with a particular Vehemence of Style, when she said, *She wanted Words to express how earnestly she desir'd to see Union, and a good Agreement among Her Subjects.* I am sure we must all want Words to express a due Sense of Her Royal Tendernefs and Care of us. In our Address to Her Majesty, we promis'd, *not only to avoid, but to oppose, every Thing that might tend to create Disunion, and Disorder* : And I do freely own, that I had then this very Thing in my Thoughts, as I believe a great many others had, and therefore I look on my self as under an Obligation now to perform what I then promis'd.

I know some of our Order, as well as my self in Particular, have been very indecently, and I hope very unjustly too, treated in many Printed Libels upon this very Account; as if we were Enemies to the Church, because we cannot think this Bill for its Service : The Station we are in sets us above the Answering every spiteful Writer. But, next to the Queen, we owe it to your Lordships, to satisfy you, if any Thing stick's with you. We hope we may appeal to the World, and to our own Diocesses in every Particular, whether our Labours do not shew a true Zeal for the Church, in all its Concerns ? We are the *Disciples of the Cross*, and must go through *good Report* and *evil Report*, but we hope we are so well known, and have acted so long in a publick Scene, and have acted such a part in it, that we may reckon our selves above such Calumnies.

Even St. Paul said he become a Fool in *Glorying*, but it was when others compell'd him to it. We must freely own that there have been such Severities among us in every Reign since the Reformation, that these are Blemishes not easily wip'd off. The Burnings in King *Edward's* Reign is the Reproach of that Time. The Capital Proceedings in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the severe Act of the 25th Year of it, that punishes Meetings with Imprisonment, Banishment, and Death, is a Blemish even on that Long and Glorious Reign. The Repeal of that Act pass'd in Both Houses, and it is
known

known by what Management it was, that it was not tender'd to the Royal Assent. The Mention of Queen Elizabeth's Reign leads me to take Notice of what has been said in Relation to the Maxims, by which she govern'd Herself, as if she had been *inflexibly steady* in the Observation of the Laws, in Matters of Religion. It is certain, that she treated the *Papists* all along with every particular Indulgence. She would have the Peers excus'd from the Obligation to take the Oaths of Supremacy; she employ'd *Papists* in all her Affairs; they were Privy Councillors, and Lord's Lieutenants; Her Lord Treasurer Protested against all the Acts for the Reformation, and was known to be a *Church Papist* and an *Occasional Conformist*; and yet he continu'd in that great Post 14 Years, till he Dy'd. She encourag'd the *Occasional Conformity* of *Papists*, and apprehended no Danger in that, even from them, and yet I hope it will be acknowledg'd, that there was more Reason to be afraid of them, considering both their Numbers, and the Hopes of a *Popish* Successor, than we have now to be afraid of the *Dissenters*. She encourag'd *Occasional Conformity*, and no Body was uneasy at it; but the *Pope* saw what it was like to end in, and therefore he took Care to put a Stop to it.

The Severities in King James the First's Reign cast a Blot on it, and the Proceedings in the *Star Chamber*, and the *High Commission*, are set forth by a Noble Historian, (the E. of Clarendon) as Things that did not a little contribute to bring on us the Miseries of a Civil War. The Proceedings in King Charles the Second's Reign were severe, and set on with bad Designs. That in a Time both of War, and of a Plague, such an Act as the Five Mile Act should have pass'd, will amaze all that do not know the Secret of that Time. Soon after the Restoration, it had been a very easy Thing to have made up all Difference among us, but the Design was to inflame them, and that Matter was far driven as we all know. The Earl of Bristol call'd together a Meeting of the Chief of the *Papists*, and tender'd them an Oath of Secrecy, as the Lord Stafford told me in the Tower, and told it likewise at the Bar of the House. He then told them, That the Breach between the Church and the *Dissenters* was now fix'd, and would be carry'd further, it was therefore their Interest

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terest to make Use of all the *Provocations* the *Dissenters* might meet with, and to offer their Assistance to them, in Order to the engaging them to Petition for a general Toleration; yet they could never be brought to it.

When the Declaration for a general Toleration, in 1672, was question'd in Parliament, which brought on the Act of the Test, see forth in the Preamble of this Bill, the Lord Clifford got some to move in Favour of the *Dissenters*, hoping that would have provok'd either the one Side or the other, and that either the Church Party might be Offended with the Motion, or the *Dissenters* with the refusing it. That was stopp'd by Alderman Love, who desir'd, tho' his Perswasion was well known, that nothing with Relation to them might intervene to stop the Security that the Nation and the *Protestant* Religion would have by that Act. In this he was seconded by most of that Party, so that the Act was obtain'd in some Measure, by their Assistance, and therefore it would be hard to turn it against them, for the King was then highly Offended with them for the giving up his Declaration. This wrought so much on the House, that was so zealous for the Church, that they Order'd a Bill to be brought in for the Ease of *Protestant Dissenters*, in which little Progress was indeed made, yet to the End of that Parliament the Conventicles were held very Publickly, and they never pass'd a Vote, or made an Address against them. In the End of King Charles's Reign, we all remember that a new Prosecution of them was set on Foot, and even then, when the Severities against them were very hard, they were solicited by the Agents of the Court to petition for a *General Toleration*, but they could not be prevail'd on. *What some of them did in King James's Reign is well known, and cannot be excus'd.*

By all this, we see that the whole Management, with Relation to *Dissenters*, was an Artifice to advance a *Popish* Interest, which must needs give a just Jealousy of every Thing that looks that way. After the late King had deliver'd us from all our Fears and Dangers, to whom (*let ungrateful and malicious Men treat his Memory as they please*) we owe our present Happiness, and that we are now Sitting here: His next Care was to secure the Church of Eng-

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land by the *Act of Toleration*, which has not only set the *Dissenters* at Ease, but has made the Church much stronger and safer, since God has so bless'd our Labours, that we see the *Dissenters* loose as much Strength as we gain by it. The Heat rais'd by those Dissentions is much allay'd, and their Numbers are abated by a moderate Computation, at least a Fourth Part, if not a Third : But now they are alarm'd, and begin to put on more Zeal, for they apprehend the *Toleration* is aim'd at, and that how little soever seems to be in this Bill, it is a Step, and will be follow'd by more that are kept in Reserve till this Point is once gain'd. *The next Stroke may be for their Wives and their Children, and so the Matter may be carry'd on till the whole Toleration, is broke through.*

If one picks at a great Dyke that keeps out Sea, it will be thought how small a Breach soever he makes at first, that he designs a total Inundation. As this seems to weaken the *Toleration*, so Men will grow jealous, and be on their Guard, and by this Means we of the Church shall not have so free and unexcepted an Access to work on their Reasons, which We now do with so much Success, when once their Passions are kindled against Us. The present State of our Affairs makes this more unreasonable : It is a common Maxim, follow'd even by Persecutors to keep Things quiet at Home, when Nations are engag'd in War, especially in such a War as this, which is for *Universal Monarchy*, where all is at Stake. There may happen great Accidents in War, and it is no way adviseable to raise Discontents or Apprehensions in great Numbers at Home, which may come to have very ill Effects, when we are in no good Condition to deal with them.

I know somewhat of Foreign Affairs. During the first six or seven Years of the last Reign, it was the common Topick of the Agents of France in the Courts of our Allies, That England was so disjuncted by Factions at Home, that there was no trusting to it. No doubt the same Arts are now practised. Portugal and Savoy are two Allies of the greatest Consequence to us, who have no Strength to resist the Force that will be poured in upon them, but as they hope to be supported by the Treasure, the Fleet, and the Assistance of

England. Any Thing that divides and weakens us, must give them a melancholly Prospect, and may make very dangerous Impressions on them; whereas our *Union* at Home, and the maintaining the happy Calm the Nation is now in, will incline them to depend more firmly on our Treaties with them.

Some Things give a just Suspicion, when the Men who Promote them, and Write for them, without Doors, are the known and avowed Enemies of the Government, who deny the Queen's Title, and are looking to One beyond Sea. Can we think that those who separate from our Churches, and have rais'd a Schism in it, can be zealous for the Peace and Order of the Church? They are Zealous for somewhat else; and therefore we may well believe their Zeal, in this Particular, is with a View to that which they are driving. One Author, who has Writ two Books in behalf of this Bill, is known to be the *Furiousest Jacobite* in England, and does not conceal it, even in those Books. In one of these he says, *He is one called a High Church-Man*; these are new Terms of Distinction, rais'd on Design to distract us yet more: I know no *High-Church* but the *Church of Rome*; and that Author *Leslie* has, in another Book, shew'd us how near he comes to that Church, when he proposes. *That a Treaty may be set on Foot between our Convocation, and the Assembly of the Clergy of France, and that we should abate the Regal Supremacy, and they the Papal*; and then, he fancies all other Matters could be easily adjusted. So here we see who are to be call'd *High Church*. Our legal Establishment, founded upon the Primitive Pattern, is the true Measure of our Church, and those who rise above it, are as much out of the Way, as those who fall below it. But I knew one of the Eminentest *Papists* of the Age, who us'd often to say, *He was for the Church of England, as by Law establish'd*: I took the Liberty to ask him how such a Profession did agree with his Sincerity? He answer'd, *He look'd upon the Laws of Queen Mary as yet in full Force, for he thought Queen Elizabeth, who Repeal'd them, had no more Right to the Crown than Oliver Cromwell had, so that her Laws were no Laws.* I confess, ever since that Time, I have been jealous, when I hear some Persons pretend so much Zeal

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for the *Church of England*. The Fury with which this Matter is driven does heighten the Jealousie. What great Matters could this Bill produce, if there were not somewhat under it?

How comes it, that our Bench should be indecently Treated, because we cannot *all of us* think it seasonable, and do not apprehend that we need it? We have, in the whole Course of our Lives, adhered to the Interest of the *Church* in all Perils, and in all Times, without ever once, in any Particular, leaning to the *Dissenters*: And yet we, who have been our whole Life long, by our Labours and Writings, *Building up the Church*, must now be defam'd as the *Underminers*, because we cannot comply with other Men's Notions. The Head of our Order (*meaning the Archbishop of Canterbury*) is misrepresented with as much Injustice as Violence, tho' He stood as in the Front of the *Church* in the most dangerous Times; and false Stories are made, and publicly reported of him. (*alluding to Sir John Packington's Speech*) I love not to use harder Words, but this could be the better bourn, if it were not for the Relations, and the Dependencies of those that vent them. I my self, have met with a large share of such Treatment, tho' in no step or part of my Life, I ever gave the least Occasion for it. When I wrote *The History of the Reformation*, for which I had the Thanks of the House, I was then under no Biass; I had neither Favour nor Interest to tye me, so that I wrote purely what was my own Sense of Things; and yet I took care to mark all the first Beginnings of *Nonconformity*, all the Grounds they went on, and all the Colours that impos'd on them, and have shewn the Mistakes and Weakness of every one of them, with an Honesty and Zeal that ought to set me beyond Suspicion. But I own, *I began the World on a Principle of Moderation*, which I have carry'd down thro' my whole Life, in which I hope I shall continue to my Live's End. There was a Time when those who are now so furious, and perhaps so full of Hopes, needed my Service, and I had some *Credit*, which, for some Years, was chiefly employ'd in their Behalf. Your Lordships may remember with what Vehemence I plead for excusing the Depriv'd Bishops from the Oaths were then, and are now,

in Great Posts, who, I am confident, will do me the Justice to own, that I was the common Agent both for *Papists* and *Jacobites* in Distress, for which we are now so ill Rewarded.

But now, to speak to the Title of the Bill, *Occasional Conformity*, I cannot in the general condemn this, but as it is accompany'd with Error and Mistake. For a particular Instance, *I my self was an Occasional Conformist in Geneva and Holland.* I thought their Churches were irregularly form'd, under great Defects in their Constitution, yet I thought Communion with them was lawful, for their Worship was not corrupted; but at the same time I continu'd my Communion with our own Church, according to the Liturgy of this Church, with all that came about me. *And if the Designs of some of the Promoters of this Bill should be brought about, and I driven beyond Sea, unless among other unpardonable People, I should be at first knock'd on the Head* I, in that Case would Communicate with the Foreign Churches, but would likewise gather all of this Church about me, and still continue to worship God according to the Liturgy, to my Life's End. So I think *Occasional Conformity*, with a less perfect Church, may well consist with the continuing to worship God in a more perfect one. It remains then a Point of Opinion, which Church or Society is the more, and which is the less perfect. In this I am very sure our Church is the more perfect and regular, and that the Separation is founded upon Error and Mistake; and that true Edification is among them. But some of them, by an unhappy Education, think otherwise, and in this they are certainly to blame, as they are in every Part of the Separation. But if it is intended to tolerate them under their other Mistakes, I do not see why this should not be tolerated likewise, since it is much less dangerous than the other Practices, that are not at present complain'd of.

The noble Historian (*the Earl of Clarendon*) whom you are all now reading with much Pleasure, finds great Fault with those who did not go to the *French Churches*, even where they had an Ambassador's Chappel to resort to, tho' this was certainly an *Occasional Conformity* with a less perfect Church, where there was no Obligation to go to it, and
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when they had a more perfect one at Hand. It has been a Topick insisted on by all who have writ against the *Dissenters* from the first Beginning of these Disputes, down to the present Times; they have been always call'd on to come as near to the Church as they could, and to do all that they could do with a good Conscience, and therefore, before the Wars, great Difference was made between the *Puritans* and the *Brownists*, or *Seperatists*, on this very Account; but now all that is revers'd; the *Seperatists* are well look'd upon, whereas those who come much nearer to us are discouraged, tho' we all see, that this is a step by which many come over entirely to us, and the Children of others do enter into a constant Communion with us. And shall we go to cast a Scandal on this to discourage it?

In my Diocess, those who are *Occasional Conformists*, out of Principle, who sometimes go to Church, and go sometimes to Meetings, are without Number; who yet have no Office, and seem to pretend to none. I confess, I do not desire to press it too hard upon them, that they may not do both, lest this, instead of keeping them from Meetings, hinder them from coming to Church. I have heard but of one in Office in my Diocess, who goes to Meetings, and that is only to a Weekly Lecture.

Therefore, since *Occasional Conformity* is only to be blamed when it goes upon an Error, and a mistaken Principle, I do not see why it should be worse treated than the Errors that are now tolerated, for it is that, of all other Errors which has done the greatest Service to the Church.

I now come to the Bill it self, I miss a Preamble here that was in the former Bill, in favour of Toleration, which is now left out. I confess, I do not know how it came to be there, for it did not very well agree with the Bill, especially as it was first sent up to us. It put me in Mind of a Clause in the Sentence of the Inquisitors, when a Heretick is condemn'd, and deliver'd to the Secular Arm, they conjure the Magistrate by the Mercies of God, and the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that no Harm be done to the Obstinate Heretick, neither in Life nor Limb: But all this is but Farce, for he his to be burn'd immediately. Yet after all, these Words were a solemn Declaration, that could not
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have been forgot, if other Matters had been afterwards offer'd at. They are now left out with great Sincerity no doubt, by those who do not intend to maintain the Toleration Act; a very honest Part, when they will not profess it! I know it may be said, let us be put in these Words, and stand to them. But still this will not lay the Apprehensions, that the leaving out these Words must raise, as if the Original Design of this Bill was to strike at the Toleration, and that therefore those who have contriv'd it, would not limit themselves by Words of their own Framing; so they may, to carry their Point, consent to their being put in by others, to which they do not only give Way, which they will not think to be such a Tye on them, as if they had, of their own accord, put them in the first Draught of the Bill. There other Words in the Preamble, that do not appear to me to be well grounded, after the Two Acts, the *Corporation Act*, and the *Test Act* are set forth. It is infer'd, That it was intended that all Men comprehended in them should be, and always continue to be of the Communion of the Church of *England*. By the first of these Acts no Man could bear Office in a Corporation, unless he had receiv'd the Sacrament within a Year before, and by the other, who had a Place of Trust was to receive the Sacrament within Three Months after, so by these Acts it is very true, that no Man be in any Employment, who either had not been, or was not then in the Communion of the Church, but there is not a Clause, nor Word in either of these Acts that import, That he should always continue to be so. If the Clause once offer'd had been receiv'd, obliging such Persons to come to Church once a Month, and to receive the Sacrament once a Year, then this Intention would have been fairly declar'd; but as it is, since no such Clause appears, I don't see how, in a Recital, we can affirm a Thing that has no Foundation, for how unlimited ~~never~~ our *Enacting Power* may be, yet in a Recital a Thing must be, as it is set forth to be, or all the Authority on Earth, cannot make it to be, otherwise than it is. As for the Enacting Part, when at any time a Bill shall be brought in, disabling all to hold any Employment, but those who continue to be in the Communion of

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the Church of *England*, I shall concur in it heartily, but for a Fine of *Fifty Pounds* I cannot agree to it. That Punishment goes farther than *disabling* ; I cannot agree to any such Clause : Nor is it consistent with the Act of *Toleration*, to lay a heavy Fine for going to a Meeting tolerated by Law ; nor can I consent to the reckoning the *Foreign Churches tolerated among us*, which are by Name excepted in the Act of *Uniformity* among the Meetings of the *Separatists* from our Church. This will have a strange Sound all the World over, and will be a mighty Discouragement to all Abroad, who expect Deliverance and Protection from hence, when they understand that it is made so Criminal a Thing to worship God with them, and according to their Way. For these Reasons I think this Bill ought not to be now entertain'd, but that the subject Matter of the Bill ought to be left consider'd at a proper Time.

T H E
 Bishop of SALISBURY'S
 S P E E C H,
 I N T H E
 HOUSE of LORDS,
 At the Impeachment of
 Dr. Henry Sacheverell.

THE Council for the Prisoner did so plainly and fully yield all that any Loyal Subject has ever pretended to, that in Cases of extream Necessity, Self-defence and Resistance

sistence were Lawful, and that this was the Case at the Revolution; that it may not necessary to say any thing further on this Head, if it had not been that the Evidence they brought seemed to carry this Matter much further, and that the Prisoner himself allow'd of no Exception, in Cases of Necessity. And since it is grown to be a vulgar Opinion, That by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, all Resistance in any Case whatsoever, without Exception, is Condemn'd; I think it is incumbent on me, who have Examined this Matter long and carefully, to give such a clear Account of this Point, as may as fully satisfy you as it did my self.

I served in the Revolution, and promoted it all I could. I served as Chaplain to the Late King: I had no Command, and carried no Arms, but I was so far engag'd in it, that if I could see that I had gone out of the Way in that (and the many Up and Downs we have gone thro' since, has given much Occasions to reflect on that Transaction) I should hold my self unworthy to appear longer, either in this Habit, or in this Great Assembly: But should think my self bound to pass away the rest of my Life in Retirement or Sorrow. There is nothing more certain in Religion, than that we ought to repent of every Sin we have committed; and that we cannot truly repent, unless we repair and restore as far as it is in our Power.

I go now to give you the Account of the Doctrine of our Church in this Particular. In the Times of Popery it was a Tenet, built upon Bishops setting the Crown on the Heads of Princes, and Anointing them, that they held their Crowns of the Church, and at the Pope's Mercy; who had for about 500 Years got into the Claim of deposing them, and giving their Dominions to others, in case they were Hereticks, or the Favourers of them. But the Reformation, being in its first beginning protected by the Princes of *Germany*, by the Kings of the *North*, and then by the Kings of *England*; they came every where in Opposition to the Papal Notions, to say that Kings had their Power from God: Not that they meant, that they had any Distinct Authority besides the Law of the Land derived to them from God; but that by the Laws of God,

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the Authority of the Law of the Land, was secured to them. For when a different Authority from that of the Law came to be pretended to, and to be grounded on these general Expressions, that received here a Parliamentary Censure, and it was then declared that the Laws of Religion in the Scripture did only establish the several Constitutions and Governments that were in the different Parts of the World.

The Occasion that the Apostles had to write what we find in their Epistles, with relation to Government, was this; The Jews had a Notion among them from a Passage in *Deuteronomy*, that they were only to set a King over them, *One from among their Brethren, and not a Stranger*. From whence it is, That to this Day they do not think they are bound in Conscience to Obey any Magistrate, who is not one of their Nation. Now the first Converts to Christianity being Jews, the Apostles took care that they should not bring this dangerous Notion with them into the Christian Religion: But they did not meddle to determine where this Authority was lodg'd, that was to be gather'd out of the several Constitutions: They did not determine how much was due to the Emperor, and how much to the Senate: And tho' not long after those Epistles were writ, the Senate condemned Nero to dye *More Majorum*, to be whipt to Death; none of the Christians interposed in that Matter. He prevented that infamous Death by his own Hands: And the Primitive Christians reckon'd it one of the Articles of the Glory of their Religion, that their first Persecutor came to such an End.

Not long after that *Trajan* was fam'd for that memorable Expression, when he deliver'd the Sword to the Governors of the Provinces, as the Emblem of their Authority, he us'd these Words. *Pro me, si merear in me*; For me, but if I deserve it, against me. That did not weaken his Authority: His good Government with that of his Successors for above 80 Years, being the greatest and happiest time the *Romans*, had under their Emperors. This Word was put on King *James* the First's Coin in *Scotland*: It is true, that was during his Minority; but when he afterwards changed his Motto, the Coin was not call'd in, but continu'd Current till the Union.

The Primitive Christians had no Laws in their Favour, but many against them : So their patient suffering so many Persecutions according to the Laws of the Empire, under which they liv'd, was conform to the Doctrine laid down by the Apostles. When they came afterwards to have the Protection of Laws, they claim'd the Benefit of them, not without great Violence, when they thought an Infraction was made on those Laws ; Which broke out into great Tumults, in many of the chief Cities of the Empire, not excepting the Imperial City it self.

But to proceed with the History of our Church : When the Articles of Religion were settled, the Books of the *Apocrypha* were indeed declar'd not to be a part of the Canon of the Scripture, but yet to be useful for the *Example of Life*, and the *Instructions of Manners*. A great part of these are the Books of the *Maccabees*, which contain the History of the Jews shaking off the Yoke of the Kings of *Syria*, when they were broke in upon by a total Overthrow of their whole Law, and an unrelenting Persecution. *Mattathias* a private Priest began the Resistance, which was carried on by his Children, till they shook off the *Syrian* Yoke and formed themselves into a free Government, under the Family of the *Maccabees*. It were easie to shew that the Jews had been for above 400 Years subject, first to the *Babylonian*, then to the *Persian*, and at last to the *Grecian* Empire : So that by a long Prescription they were Subjects to the Kings of *Syria*. It were easie also to shew that this Resistance was foretold by *Daniel*, in Terms of high Commendation, and is also mention'd in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, as the Work and Effect of their Faith. If then all Resistance to illegal and barbarous Persecution, is unlawful ; these Books contain nothing but a History of a Rebellion, and all the Devotion that runs through them, is but a Cant, and instead of reading them as *Examples of Life*, and *Instruction of Manners*, we ought to tear them out of our Bibles with Detestation. I shall afterwards shew what use was made of these Books, not only by private Writers of our Church, but by what the whole Body in Convocation was about to determine.

The next Step to be made, is, to consider the Homilies : The Second Book of Homilies, which has the Homilies in it against *Wilful Rebellion*, is generally believed to have been compos'd by Bishop *Jewell*, who was by much the best Writer in that time. It is certain, he understood the meaning of them well ; Now I will read you two Passages out of his Defence of his Apology for the Church of *England* ; from whence we may clearly gather what his Notion of Rebellion was, and that he thought a Defence against unjust and illegal Violence was not Rebellion. In one place he has these Words ;

The Nobles of Scotland neither drew the Sword, nor attempted War against the Prince : They sought only the Continuance of God's undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives against your barbarous and cruel Invasions : They remember'd, besides all other Warnings, your late Dealings at Vassy, where great Numbers of their Brethren were murder'd, being together at their Prayers in the Church, holding up their Innocent Hands to Heaven, and calling upon God. In another place he writes, Neither do any of all these (Luther Melancthon) teach the People to rebel against their Prince : But only to defend themselves by all lawful Means against Oppressions, as did David against Saul, so do the Nobles in France at this Day, they seek not to kill, but to save their own Lives.

These Passages shew that he looked on Rebellion to be a violent Rising against a Prince executing the Laws, which was the Case of the Three Rebellions in *England* that they had in view : That in King *Henry* the VIIIth's, in King *Edward's*, and Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, where the Papists took Arms against their Prince, who was executing Laws made in Matters of Religion, and that with a great Gentleness. Of the Eleven Passages quoted by the Prisoner out of the Homilies, Five plainly relate only to the Coercing the Person of the Prince, in which *David* is set in Opposition to those Rebels now, tho' he indeed defended himself, yet he had a just and sacred Tenderne's to the Person of *Saul*, when he had him in his Power, which is certainly Sacred by our Constitution. Five of them relate to Wicked Princes. It was never pretended by any who pleaded for Necessary Defence, that the bad Life of a Prince can

be a just Cause of Resistance : Yet that was then pretend-
ed ; for King *Henry VIII.* had given too much occasion to
reckon him a Wicked Prince. So there is only one of all
the Passages quoted from those Homilies, that relates simply
to Rebellion in general : And it has appear'd what Bishop
Jewell's Sense of the Matter was. There is also a Prayer
at the end of every Division of the Homily against *Wilful*
Rebellion, (and by the by *Wilful* was not put in the Title
for nothing) for those oppress'd by Tyranny in other Parts,
that they might be relieved, and that those who were in
fear of their Cruelty might be comforted.

Let us next look thro' Queen *Elizabeth's* Long and Glo-
rious Reign, and see what was the constant Maxim of that
time.

The Year after the Queen came to the Crown, the War
in *Scotland* broke out between the Queen Regent that Go-
vern'd by Commission, from her Daughter then Queen of
France, and the Lords in *Scotland*. She, to obtain the Ma-
trimonial Crown to be sent to *Frances* the Ild. gave Assu-
rances for the Exercise of the Reformed Religion ; but that
Point being gain'd, she broke all her Promises, and resolved
to force them to return to the Exercises of the Popish Re-
ligion : Upon which the Lords of *Scotland* formed them-
selves into a Body, and were called the Lords of the Con-
gregation. Forces were sent from *France* to assist the Queen
Regent ; upon that Queen *Elizabeth* entred into an Agree-
ment with the *Scottish* Lords, and sent an Army to their
Assistance, which continued in *Scotland* till all Matters were
settled by the Pacification of *Leith* ; And in a *Manifesto*,
that I have in my Hands, set forth 25 Years after that, I
find Her reflecting on that Interposition in the Affairs of that
Nation, with great Satisfaction.

The Year after this War was ended, upon *Frances* the
Ild's Death, *Charles IXth*, who was a Child, succeeded in
France. Edicts were granted in favour of the Protestants
These were soon after broken by the Triumvirat, and up-
on that follow'd a Series of Wars often pacified, but al-
ways breaking out again, by reason of the Violence and
Cruelty of the Government. All these Wars, till *Henry* the
IVth was settled on the Throne, were in a Course of 25
Years

Years, that which some would call *Rebellion*, being carried on against two succeeding Kings. Yet the Queen was in all that time still assisting them with Men and Money.

In the Year 1568, the Provinces in the *Netherlands* threw off the *Spanish* Yoke, that was become intollerably severe and cruel. The Queen for some Years assisted them more covertly, but when the Prince of *Orange* was kill'd, and they were in danger to be over-run, she took them more openly into her Protection; and by the *Manifesto* which I have in my Hands, She published the Grounds upon which She proceeded. She laid down this for a Foundation, That there had been an Ancient League not only between the Crown of *England*, and the Princes of the *Netherlands*, but between the Subjects of both Countries, under their Seals interchangeably, for all Friendly Offices. If this was a good Reason for the Queen's giving Aid to the Oppressed People of the *Netherlands*, then if the Case had been illegally and cruelly oppressed, it furnished the Princes of those Provinces with as good a Reason for assisting them. In this Assistance given the States, the Queen persisted till the End of Her Reign; nor was this only done by the Court, but both Parliaments and Convocations granted Her several Aids to maintain these Wars: And in the Preambles of those Particulars were highly approv'd and magnify'd. *Bil-son* Bishop of *Winchester*, and several other Writers in that time, justified what she did; and not one that I ever heard of censured or condemned it.

Upon King *James's* coming to the Crown, the first great Negotiation was for a Peace between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*; which lasted several Years. The States insisted on a Preliminary, That they should be Acknowledged Free, Sovereign, and Independent States; the *Spaniards* would not yield to this, nor would the States recede from it. Some here in *England* began to say, They were Form'd in Rebellion, and ought not to carry their Pretensions too far: Upon that, King *James* suffer'd a Convocation to meet; and a Book of Canons, with relation to the Supream Authority was prepar'd; in which, tho' the Authority of the Prince, even when he becomes a Tyrant, is carried very far; yet the Case of the *Maccabees* is Stated; and, it was determin'd

ned, That when a new Government, tho' begun in a Revolt, is come to a thorow Settlement, it may be owned as Lawful. King *James*, who was jealous enough of the Regal Authority, yet did not like their carrying these Matters so far: He order'd the whole Matter to be let fall so entirely, that there is not a Word of it in the Books of Convocation: But Archbishop *Sincroft* found this Collection of Canons at *Durham*, under Dr. *Overall's* Hand, which he Copied out, and Licens'd the Book a few Days before he fell under his Suspension. I soon saw that it had a Relation to the Affairs in *Holland*: For the *Dutch* delighted to compare their first Beginnings to that of the *Jews* in *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the Prince of *Orange* to *Judas Maccabeus*. But I saw much clearer into the Matter by an Original Letter of King *James*, which a worthy Gentleman sent me. I knew his Hand well, the Letter is in Print; but I will read some particulars out of it. It is Directed to Dr. *Abbot*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. It begun with Censuring some Positions concerning a King in Possession, the same with our Modern Term of a King *de facto*: He goes on in these Words, *My Reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgments, how far a Christian and a Protestant King, may concur to Assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their own Sovereign, upon the Account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's Time, this Kingdom was very free in Assisting the Hollanders both with Arms and Advice; and none of your Coat ever told me, that any scrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know, it came from some of your selves to raise scruples about this Matter; yet I never took any notice of these scruples, till the Affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. I call'd my Clergy together, to satisfie not so much me, as the World about us, of the Justness of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not.* He reflects on those, who had a great Aversion to the Notion of God's being the Author of Sin, which plainly Points at Dr. *Overall*, who was the first Man of Note among us, that Opposed the Calvinists Doctrine of Predestination; yet he says, *They had gone to the Threshold*

of

of it, by saying, That even Tyranny was God's Authority, and should be Reverenced as such. He concludes, These were edg'd Tools, and that therefore they were to let them rest. Here is a full Account of King James's Thoughts of this Matter, which was then the chief Subject of Discourse all Europe over. He had Twelve Years before this, shewed on an Eminent Occasion, that he owned the States, when he Invited them in the Year 1593. to Christen his Eldest Son, Prince Henry. They were sensible of the great Honour done them by it; and tho' they were then but Low, they sent an Embassy, with a Noble Present of Gold Plate, to Assist on that Occasion. This Negotiation stuck for several Years, the Spaniards refusing to own them in express Words: The Temper found was, they were treated with (*tamquam*) as with Free States; and the Matter went no further at that time, than a Truce for some Years, which was Corcluded in the Year 1609. This lets us see, That the Words in King James's Speech that Year to his Parliament, were not chance Words that fell carelessly from him, *A King leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to Govern by Law: In which case the King's Conscience may speak to him, as the poor Woman to Philip of Macedon, Either Govern by Law, or cease to be a King.*

There is another eminent Instance towards the End of that Reign, that shews what the Sense of our best Divines was in this Matter: When the Archbishop of York's Son and Mr. Wadsworth had changed their Religion in Spain, Wardsworth writ over a bold Defence of that; and among other Things, Charged the Reformation with Rebellion. This was Answer'd by one of the best Books of that Time, writ by Dr. Bedell, Dedicated to the Prince of Wales, who afterwards Promoted him to a Bishoprick. His Words on this Head are full: I will read some of them. *Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their Fellow subjects, or to their Prince, at their mere Wills, against their own Laws and Edicts? You would know quo jure the Protestant Wars in France and Holland, are justified. First, The Law of Nature, which not only alloweth, but inclineth and inforceth every living Thing to defend it self from Violence. Secondly, That of Nations, which permitteth these*

who are in the Protection of others, to whom they owe no more than an honourable Acknowledgment, in case they go about to make themselves absolute Sovereigns, and to usurp their Liberty, to Resist and Stand for the same. And if a Lawful Prince, who is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods, shall attempt to despoil them of the same, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion, after all humble Remonstrances, they may stand upon their own guard, and being assailed, resist Force with Force, as did the Maccabees under Antiochus. In which case notwithstanding, the Person of the Prince himself ought always to be Sacred and Inviolable, as was Saul to David. No Commentary is wanted here.

My, Lords, You see how this Matter stood during King James's Reign. In the first Year of King Charles's Reign, Grotius's Book de Jure Belli & Pacis, was Publish'd at Paris, Dedicated to the King of France, while France was under the Administration of the wisest and most jealous Minister of the last Age, Cardinal Richelieu. In that Book, in which he asserts the Rights of Princes with great Zeal, yet he enumerates many Cases, in which it is Lawful to Resist, particularly that of a total Subversion: And that Book is now all Europe over in the highest Reputation of any Book that the Modern Ages have produced. In the Beginning of K. Charles's Reign, a War broke out in France, against the Protestants; upon which he sent over Ambassadors, by whose Mediation a Peace was Concluded; but that being ill kept, the War broke out again; and the King thought himself Bound by his Mediation to Protect the Protestants: So in the Second Session of the Parliament 1628. In the Demand of a Supply that the Lord Keeper Coventry made in the King's Name, these Words are to be found, France is sway'd by the Popish Faction; and tho' by his Majesties Mediation, there were Articles of Agreement between that King and his Subjects, that Treaty hath been broke, and those of the Reformed Religion will be ruined without present Help. Upon this the Commons petitioned the King for a Fast, and desired the Concurrence of the Lords, who join'd with them in it. The King granted it, and an Office was Compos'd suitable to the Occasion; in which among other Devotions, the Nation was directed to pray for all those, who here or
else.

where were fighting God's Battles and Defending his Altars. Thus the whole Body of the Legislature did concur for a Fast for that, which if this Doctrine is true, was no better than Rebellion; and yet the whole Nation, Clergy and Laity were requir'd to Pray for Success in it.

But to compleat this View of the Doctrine of our Church it is to be consider'd, That when a Year before this, while the Loan or Benovolence were carried on, some officious Divines made use of those Expressions of Kings having their Power from God, as importing an Authority of a Nature Superior to the Laws of the Land. One of these, Dr. *Manwaring*, was Impeached, and had a severe Sentence pass'd on him for it. So I have now made it out, beyond I hope the possibility of Contradiction, that for 70 Years together, from 1558, to 1628, the Lawfulness of Self-defence in the Case of Illegal and Violent Cruelty, was the Publick and Constant Doctrine of this Church.

These were the best and happiest times of our Church, as is often repeated by the Earl of *Clarendon*: From these we ought to take the Standard of our Doctrine.

I go next to shew what was the common Doctrine for the next 60 Years, from 1628, to 1688. I must yield up the first twelve Years: For upon the unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and that Parliament, there was a long discontinuance of Parliaments, then the lately condemned Doctrine was again in Vogue; and nothing was so much heard of, as the Law of Government that was from God, Antecedent to all human Laws: Out of this sprung illegal Imprisonments, illegal Monopolies, severe Proceedings in the Star-Chamber, but above all, the Ship-Money. These things put the Nation in an Universal disjointing and feebleness. And when an unavoidable necessity forced that King to call a Parliament, the Effects of those Counsels broke out terribly. I know many fancy, that the War is to be charged on the Principles of Self-defence: They are much mistaken. I had occasion to set a great way into the Secret of that time, when I examin'd the Papers relating to the two Dukes of *Hamilton*. I knew a great deal more since from two Persons of unquestionable Integrity, who knew the Secrets of that time, the Lord *Hollis*, and

Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*; but all receiv'd a full Confirmation, when I found it agreed perfectly with the noble Account given by the Earl of *Clarendon*.

No Body dreamt of a War, nor had they any Principles leading to it. But there was an unhappy Train of Accidents that hindred Matters from being brought to a Settlement, even while the King was granting all they could desire. Stories were carried by Persons about both the King and Queen, of words let fall, that made them conclude, here were still ill Designs on Foot, against the Laws that were then passed. But that which brought all to a Crisis, was the Discovery of a Negociation. Whosoever compares the Dispositions in *Rushworth*, with the Account given of that Matter by the Earl of *Clarendon*, will see there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is willing to believe; tho' he acknowledges they had both *Goring's* Evidence, and *Piercy's* Letter with them. I will not take it upon me to determine, whether they believ'd too much, or the Earl of *Clarendon* too little. It is certain, they believed all that was in the Dispositions, and a great deal more: For *Goring* being continued in the Government of *Portsmouth*, and his Father being advanced from being a Baron to be an Earl, and *Piercy's* being made a Lord, and Master of the Horse to the Prince of *Wales*, made them conclude they had suppress'd a great deal, instead of saying more than was true. This stuck deep in their Hearts, and at last fatally broke out in the Demand of the Militia, that brought on the War, which I do own was plainly a *Rebellion*, because a Force was offer'd to the King, not to defend themselves from an unjust Invasion, or illegal Grievances, but to extort a new Law from him.

Thus the true Occasion of the War, was a Jealousie, that a Conduct of 15 Years had given too much ground for; and that was still unhappily kept up, by a fatal Train of Errors in every step that was made. The great Concussion that the War gave the Nation, and the barbarous Effusion of so much Blood, especially of the Royal Blood of that Blessed KING, had at last a happy, tho' a late Conclusion in the *Restoration*: And it's no wonder, if such a Series of Tragical Events, begot a general Horror at the Occa-

Occasion of them. But then it was, that had it not been for the Firmness of the Earl of *Clarendon* to his *English* Principles, the Liberties of the Nation had been deliver'd up.

It is to his Memory that we owe our being a free People; for he with his two great Friends, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, check'd the Forwardness of some who were desirous to load the Crown with Prerogative and Revenue. He stopt all this, which being afterwards odiously represented, brought on him that great and lasting, but honourable Disgrace. The Earl of *Southampton*, whose Death went a little before his Fall, and perhaps hastned it the sooner, said to many about him, that he was a true Protestant, and an honest *English man*; and that the Nation would feel the Effects of his being removed, whensoever it might happen.

That Lord, in the great Settlement after the Restoration, would carry things no farther, than to repeal what had been extorted by the Tumults; and in the Matter of the Militia Act, and the Oaths relating to it, all was more cautiously worded, than is commonly understood. To the Word *Commission'd by the King*, some indeed moved, that the word *Lawfully* might be added, to make all plain. This was press'd in the House of Commons by *Vaughen*, afterward Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. The Attorney General, afterwards Lord Chancellor *Nottingham*, answer'd, That was not necessary; for the word *Commissioned*, importeth it; since, if it was not Lawfully issued out, to Lawful Persons, and for a Lawful Reason, it was no *Commission*, and the whole House assented to this; yet in the House of Lords, the same word *Lawfully* was press'd to be added by the Earl of *Southampton*, who was answer'd by the Earl of *Anglesey* to the same purpose, with what had been said in the House of Commons. He indeed insisted to have the Word added, because it would clear all Difficulties with many, who not having heard of Sense given in both Houses, might fancy, that any sort of *Commission* being granted, it would not be Lawful to resist it. He did not prevail; for it was said, That this Explanation being the Sense of both Houses, it would be soon

spread and known over the Nation. In this Sense, it is certain, that it is not Lawful to take Arms against any so Commission'd by the King; for that were to take Arms against the King's Commission in the Execution of the Law, which is certainly a resisting the Ordinance of God, *which whosoever do, they shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

It was no wonder, if after such a War, the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* was preach'd and press'd with more than ordinary Warmth, and without any Exceptions; yet some still kept these in view; so did both Dr. *Faulkner* and myself; and I know many others had them always in their Thoughts, tho' they did not think it necessary to mention them.

I found the ill Effects, that the carrying this Matter so far, had on the Mind of that Unfortunate Prince, King *James*; for in the Year 1673, when he was pleas'd to admit me to much free Conversation with him, among many other Things, I told him, it was impossible for him to Reign in quiet in this Nation, being of that Religion; he answer'd me quick, Does not the Church of *England* maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive Obedience*? I begg'd of him not to depend on that; for there was a Distinction in that Matter, that would be found out when Men thought they needed it. I now come to tell your Lordships, how right I judged.----

It is true, they pass'd a very pompous Decree at *Oxford* 1683. but you shall hear how long they stood to it. In Summer, 1686, the Prince of *Orange* was pleas'd to receive me into his Service with a particular Confidence. Soon after the Ecclesiastical Commission was set up, and upon some Proceedings before that Board, he was desir'd from *England* to break with King *James* upon that Head. I opposed this, and said, I was convinced, that Commission was against Law, and would have ill effects, but it did not strike at the whole. This was more warmly press'd upon the Proceedings against *Magdalene College*. I still stood to my ground; and told both Prince and Princess, That if a Breach should follow on these Matters, I could not serve. When indeed the Declaration was publish'd a second Time, with a Resolution to have it carried through;
and

and that many Laws were dispensed with at pleasure ; and Persons who were under legal Disabilities, were made Judges, Sheriffs and Magistrates ; all whole Actings were so many Nullities : Then I thought here was a total Subversion of our Constitution ; which from being a Legal one, was made precarious, subject to mere Will and Pleasure. So I was ready to serve in the Revolution.

Some Days after we came to *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Seymour* came thither, and he presently sent for me : When I came to him, he asked me, Why were we a Rope of Sand, and had not an Association ? I said, Because we had not yet a Man of his Weight to begin the Motion : He said, If we had not one by to Morrow, he would leave us before Night. I presently saw a Noble Duke now in my Eye, and acquainted him with this ; He went to the Prince, who approving of it, an Association was prepar'd, and laid on the Table next Morning ; and was after that Sign'd by all who came to wait on the Prince. Three Days after we left *Exeter*, a Head of a College came to the Prince, to invite him to come to *Oxford*, assuring him, that the University would declare for him. He went as near it as *Abingdon*, but then the sudden Turn of Affairs at *London* obliging him to hast up, the Association was sent thither, and was Signed by the Heads of the Colleges, and many others there ; some doing it in a particular Warmth of Expression, and saying, That their Hearts, as well as their Hands went with it. Upon what Disappointments or other Views, I cannot tell, this Contradiction to their famed Decree, five Year after it was made, seem'd to take another Turn back to it again ; and the Notion of a King *de facto*, which is but a softer Word for an Usurper, came in Vogue.

The Parliament, to prevent the ill Effects of that studied to secure the Government, *First*, by an Association, and then by an Abjuration. I, who always against every thing that might break in upon Conscience, was for making these only voluntary ; but they were Enacted, and they were generally taken. A Noble Lord on the Eards Bench, procur'd me a the Sight of a Letter, that went about to persuade the taking the Abjuration, that he had
from

from a Place where he believed it had its Effect ; where I found this Distinction, That the Abjuring any Right whatsoever that the Pretender might claim, was only meant of a Legal Right, and that it had no Relation to *Birch-Right*, or to *Divine Right*. This agreed, with a Report that went then Current, That a Person, in a great Post, sent a Message to an Honourable Gentleman, who would not take the Abjuration, that if he had an half Hours Discourse with him, he doubted not to be able to convince him, that he might take the Abjuration, without departing from any of his Principles. Towards the End of the last Reign, a bold Attempt was made on the King's Supremacy, by an Incendiary, who is supposed to have no small Share in this Matter now before your Lordships : But the Attack on the Supremacy, being liable to a *Premunire*, it was turn'd with much Malice, and manag'd with great Prevarication against the Bishops, who adhered firmly to their Duty to the King. How great a Disjointing that has brought on this Church, is to visible all the Nation over, and it tends to carry on the wicked Design of distracting the Church, and undermining the Government.

By the time the Queen was on the Throne, or soon after, the *Rebearfal* began to spread over the Nation, two of them a Week, which continu'd for several Years together, to be Publish'd without Check or Controul ; It was all thro' one Argument against the Queen's Right to the Crown ; that tho' it was diversified with Incidents and Digressions, was kept always in View. The Clergy were in many Places drawn into Subscriptions for this Paper. This look'd like a Design long conniv'd at, to have the Queen's Title undermin'd : Besides this, we had a Swarm of Pamphlets every Year to the same Purpose, and, as was believ'd writ by the same Hand. One sold at the Door of the House, with the Title of *King William's Exorbitant Grants*, did plainly call him an Usurper ; and starting an Objection against the Queen's possessing the Throne, gave it this Answer, That she did well to keep it till she could deliver it up to the Righteous Heir. At that time there was quick Prosecution of a Paper published, with the Title of *The Shortest*

Shortest Way to the Dissenters ; and upon that, I brought that Pamphlet to a great Minister, and offer'd to shew him this Passage in it, to see if there should be a Prosecution of this Order'd. He turned from me ; so whether he heard me or not, I cannot tell ; I am sure, if he says he did not, I will believe him. No Persecution follow'd, and the Rehearsal went on. The Clergy in many Places, met at a Coffee-House on *Saturdays*, to Read the Rehearsals of the Week, which had very ill Effects in most Places. I know it may be said, That the Queen's Learned Council ought to have look'd after these Things : But we all know, that they stay till they receive Orders from the Ministry. The Course of that Treasonable Paper has been now for some time stopt, so we see there is some Change in the Ministry.-----

But to compleat the Insolence of the Enemies of the Queen and of the Protestant Succession ; they had the Impudence to give it out, That the Queen secretly favour'd them : And as this, we all know, has been long whisper'd about among us, so it was more boldly given out in *Scotland*, which oblig'd one of the Queen's Ministers in that Parliament, in a Speech that was Printed. to contradict this treasonable and dishonourable Suggestion, that as some Divines would have it, that there was in God a Secret, as well as a Reveal'd Will, and that these might be contrary to one another ; so they would fasten an Imputation on the Queen, that while she reveal'd her Will one way, she had a secret Will another way ; which he solemnly affirmed to be false, and highly Injurious to the Queen.

While the Pamphlets and these Reports were thus set about, Mr. *Hoadly* thought that it became him to assert the Queen's Title, by justifying the Revolution, out of which it rises. But what an Outcry was rais'd on this, that one durst disturb the Progress of a wicked Opinion, that was visibly design'd to overturn the Government : And yet he asserted nothing, but what the Council for the Prisoner did all fully and plainly own, That in the Cases of extream Necessity, an Exception to the Doctrine was to be admitted, and that was the Case at the Revolution.

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But as these Notions have been long let run among us ; so they have appeared in a most violent and unguarded Manner, ever since the Attempt of the Pretender, and more of late, since the Preliminaries upon the Overtures for a Peace, seem to extinguish their Hopes. What Sermons on this Head are preach'd in this City, at Assizes, at *Bath*, and that many Cathedrals ? Furious Men fit themselves with some hot Sermons, which they carry about from place to place, to poison the Nation. This has not only the visible Effect designed by it, of shaking many in their Allegiance to the Queen, and in their adhering to Protestant Succession ; but it has a curst Effect on many others, on whom this their Design does not succeed.

I am very sensible there is a great deal of Impiery and Infidelity now spread thro' the Nation : This gives every good Mind all possible Horror ; but I must tell your Lordships, on what a great Part of it is founded ; for since my Conversation with *Wilmot*, Earl of *Rocheſter*. I have had many Occasions to Discourse with Persons tainted with those wicked Principles, and I do affirm it, that the greatest Prejudice these Persons have at Religion, at the Clergy, and at the Publick Worship of God, is this, that they say, They see Clergy men take Oaths, and use all Prayers, both Ordinary and Extraordinary for the Government, and yet in their Actings and Discourses, and of late in their Sermons, they shew visibly that they look another way ; from whence they conclude, They are a Mercenary Sort of People without Conscience.

I hope there are not many that are so corrupted and so Scandalous : I am sure I know a great many that are far otherwise, who Preach, Speak and Act as they Swear and Pray ; but those who act in another way, are Noisie and Impudent, and so bring an Imputation on the whole Body ; and unless an effectual Stop is put to this Distemper, it is not possible to foresee all the ill Consequences that may follow upon it.

I have, I am afraid, wearied your Lordships ; but I thought it was necessary, once for all, to enlarge copiously on this Argument : And now to come close to the Article, and the Sermon, for I meddle not at all with the Person
of

of the Man; Whatever general Expressions might very well have been used, in setting forth *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* before the *Revolution*, because odious Cases ought not to be supposed, and therefore are not to be named; yet since *Resistance* was used in the *Revolution*, and that the late King invited all the Subjects to join with him, which was in them certainly Resistance; and since the Lawfulness of the *Revolution* is so much controverted, the condemning all *Resistance* in such crude and general Terms, is certainly a Condemning the *Revolution*: And this is further aggravated from those Limitations on our Obedience, in an Act past soon after the *Revolution*, by which, in Case our Princes turn *Papists*, or marry *Papists*, the Subjects are in Express Words, discharg'd from their Allegiance to them. Certainly this puts an End to the Notion of *Non-Resistance* in any Case, or on any Pretence whatsoever: For these Reasons, I think the first Article of this Impeachment, is both well grounded, and fully made out.

T H E

Bishop of *SALISBURY*'s

New-Preface.

SINCE after more than Four and Twenty Years, the Lawfulness of the *Revolution* is not only brought under Debate, but is openly arraign'd by some, and feebly justify'd by others, while many are plainly endeavouring to undermine and over-turn it. Those who were much concern'd and deeply engag'd in that great Transaction, seem

to be, as it were, call'd on to review that whole Matter, with the Share that they themselves had in it; and to see upon the most Serious Reflections, what Judgment they ought to pass upon it: I am not ashamed nor afraid to own, that I had a full Knowledge of the whole Progress of it, and that I had all the Share in it, that my Capacity and Station did admit of.

Revolution Principles are now represented in such Odious Colours, that I think such Declamations as have been made upon them, by Persons who are too Young to have been able to observe how Matters then went; and yet have taken up Prejudices too implicitly, upon some receiv'd Notions, without giving themselves the Trouble of Examining Critically how Matters stood; These, I say, I think ought to be check'd in time, without that Asperity of Words which they may affect, but with all the Force of True Reasoning.

I will therefore state the Thing Historically, and then leave it to every Reader to pass such a Judgment, as a clear View of it will lead him to make.

In the Year 1673. The Famous Act of the *Test* was pass'd, by which all Men in the Offices enumerated in it, were requir'd within a Limited Time, to receive the Sacrament in a Parish Church, and to take the *Test*, renouncing Transubstantiation in a Publick Court; and if they did not thus Qualifie themselves, and yet went on Executing their Offices, they were put under an *Incapacity*, the Importance of which, as all Lawyers agree, is, that whatsoever they shou'd act after that, was Null and Void of it self: They were also lyable to a Fine, of which no Part was to go to the Crown; so carefully was this Act Penn'd, that the King shou'd be bound by it, and not be able to break through it.

Soon after King *James* came to the Crown, upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion, he gave Commissions to many *Papists* to serve in the Army; which in such a Juncture was gently enfur'd: But when that Rebellion was soon dissipated, and the Time came, limited by Law, for their Qualifying themselves, they continu'd to execute their Commissions, without any regard to the Law: Nor had the just Sense that the House of Commons express'd upon this

this open Breach of Law, any other Effect, but to get the Session to be dismiss'd with a Prorogation. A Mock Suit was soon after that carried on in the *King's-Bench*, against one that had thus neglected to Qualifie himself; and after much Practice on that Court, and many Removes made in it, they came to a Decesion, that all the Laws were the King's Laws; and that the Execution of the Law was only in the King, who was not accountable to any Person for that.

After this, in *April 1687*. the King set out a Declaration, in shew only, suspending that Law, but in effect repealing; these Words being a part of it, *That these (the Tests) shall not at any time hereafter be requir'd to be taken or subscrib'd by any Person whatsoever.* Upon this, follow'd on Open Violation of that Law. Many indeed still took the Tests: But all those who intended to Merit and pretended to Favour at Court, went on in this Contempt of the Law. Some Judges, many Sheriffs, and Magistrates complying with the Designs of the Court, put themselves under those Incapacities; so that there were Nullities in every Part of the Administration. This shook all Private Rights; Judgments given by such Judges were Void, so were all Writs executed by such Sheriffs. Nor could a Parliament be Legally Summon'd or return'd by such Officers.

This was an open and avow'd Subversion of our Constitution. The Essence of which is, that the Legislature is in the King with the Two Houses of Parliament; and the Execution of Laws so made is in the Crown. If then a King instead of executing those Laws, will repeal them at his Pleasure, the Government is entirely alter'd, in the most Essential Part of it. And by the same Authority that the King repealed those Laws relating to Religion, he might by another Declaration repeal all Laws relating to Liberty and Property; for the Authority of Laws is the same in all Points, and the Prerogative, if extended to reach to Laws of one sort, may be applied equally to all. And yet so inflexibly did the King pursue this Point, that in the Year 1688, he renewed his Declaration, with this Addition, of requiring all the Clergy to read it in their Churches.

Many other Breaches of Law might be instanc'd, besides the Capital One, such as the Ecclesiastical Commission, set up in the Face of Law made expressly against it: The Proceedings against *Magdalen College*, by which a great Body were turn'd out of their Freeholds plainly against Law. An open Treaty was set on Foot with *Rome*, an Ambassador was sent thither, that a Nuncio was receiv'd here, which was Treason by Law. Popish Bishops and Priests were sent openly about the Kingdom, and a Jesuit was a Privy Counsellor; which were plain and publick Evidences of a Design to change our Religion, and to destroy our Church: These were all likewise great Invasions of Law; but they did not seem to amount to such an open Subversion of our Constitution, as the Declaration did, and therefore till that came out, I thought Particular Illegal Proceedings were to be submitted to, rather than we should venture an open Breach. But the Declaration, when twice repeated, so that it appear'd the Court was resolv'd to pursue it, seem'd to me to strike at all, and to alter our whole Constitution.

Our Government is a Legal one; the King's Authority is founded on Law. No Man is prosecuted or punish'd, but for the Violation of some Law. It is the Law that directs the Succession to the Crown. In *France* and *Germany* the Heir Male only can succeed: Among us it goes to the Heir General. Thus a Subversion of Law, is the destroying that on which the King's Authority is founded, and by which it is maintain'd: So the turning a Legal Government into an Arbitrary one, did put the Subject to such Straits, that they saw they must either be Slaves, or try how their Liberties could be preserv'd.

The Authority of Parents over their Children, is the Original of all Governments, as founded on the Clearest Title of conveying Life and Being to them, yet if a Father goes to destroy his Children without a Just Cause, if he is in the State of Nature, out of Government, or if in Government, on any Account, whatsoever, certainly by his attempt to destroy that Life, the Conveyance of which to them, was the Foundation of his Authority over them, he releases them from all Obligations to submit to his Cruelty; and

and they are at Liberty to see to their own Preservation. The Case is stronger in Subjects, who are under no Natural Tye, but only a Legal One, to their Prince; so the annulling the Authority of Law, is indeed the destroying or subverting that, upon which only their Obligation to Obedience and Submission is founded.

Upon these Reasons, I thought it was Lawful for the Prince of *Orange* to come over, and Protect and Secure Us, and to maintain our Laws; he being earnestly called on by Men of all Ranks and Sorts, who saw our Laws trod on, and our Constitution subverted; and look'd on him as the only Person that cou'd save us.

Other Things concurr'd, that made it Lawful for the *States* to assist Him with their Forces. The Earl of *Castlemain*, the King's Ambassador at *Rome*, push'd the Pope, and the Patron Cardinal *Cibo*, to admit the King to mediate a Reconciliation between the Courts of *Rome* and *Versailles*; and said, When that was brought about, the Two Kings wou'd effectually serve the Cause of the Church; and begin with the Destruction of *Holland*. This the Pope told to the Head of the Imperial Faction at *Rome*, who wrote it to the Emperor; and the Emperor wrote it to the Prince of *Orange*. If it is thought that this is too remote, the Matter was made more Evident, when during the Vacancy of the Sees of *Colen* and *Liege*, Cardinal *Fu- sternberg*, who was the Guardian of the Temporalities of those Sees, brought *French* Garrisons into *Bonne* and *Liege*, and into all their other Places belonging to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Colen*. Thus the Two Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Maes*, which are the Chief Securities of the *States*, and by the former of which, the King of *France* had Invaded, and almost ruin'd them in the Year 1672, were possess'd by *French* Forces; and at the same time the King of *France*, though he had Two Years before Concluded a Truce of Twenty Years with the Empire, thought fit to break it, and to begin the War with the Siege of *Philipsburgh*: So the *States* saw a War with *France* unavoidable; and it being generally believ'd, that *France* and *England* were engag'd in a strict Alliance, it was free to them to begin the War, where they hop'd the Enemy was weakest.

It is true, the Alliance was for some time deny'd, but at last it was own'd by the *French* Ambassador, in a Memorial that he gave into the *States*, upon the Reports of their Design to Invade *England*; in which he told them, that the Alliance between His Master and the King of *England* was such, that he must look on what shou'd be attempted against him, as done against himself.

This was a Solemn Act, by which the Alliance was own and publish'd. It is true, the Court of *England* did seem displeas'd with their Envoy; he was recall'd, and sent to the *Tower*; but that appear'd to be only a Shew of Displeasure; for in a few Days from being a Prisoner, he was made the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. Perhaps his Importunity in getting the Alliance to be own'd, was beyond his Instructions: But no Importunities whatsoever could have prevail'd to get it to be own'd, if it was not really made. Such an Authentick Declaration it gave the *States* a Right both to believe it, and to act upon it, as they found it convenient.

Having thus shew'd what Reason this Nation had to conclude, that the Court had resolv'd on, and had begun a Total Subversion of our Constitution and Legislation; upon which they call'd on the Prince of *Orange* as nearly concern'd both in the immediate Right of his Princess, and in his own more remote one, to come and preserve our Constitution. And having shew'd what Right the *States* had to make War upon *England*, I might proceed; but before I go further in this Relation, I will mention the Extraordinary Providences of God that appear'd in our Passage to *England*.

We set out first on the 19th of *October* in fair Weather; but next Day, we had a most violent Storm, with which we struggled Three Days, in no small Danger, considering the great Number of the Ships of War and Transport. After three Days we came into Port, without the Loss of any one Vessel, and but of one Man. Ten Days after that we had a more prosperous Navigation. The late Duke of *Leeds*, and other Lords, who had press'd the Prince most to this Undertaking, mov'd for his Landing in the Mouth of the *Humber*. This was oppos'd by all the Seamen, but insisted

sifted on with so positive a vehemence from *England*, that the Prince resolv'd to comply with it. A strong *East* Wind made this impracticable; so we sail'd into the Channel, designing to land at *Dartmouth*, or in *Torbay*: But a strong Gale, and a bold Pilot, carry'd us beyond those Ports; and on the Fifth of *November*, when Day-light shew'd us the Coast, we saw our Danger, and apprehended we might be forced to Sail on to *Falmouth*, which gave us a very melancholly Prospect: But in the Minute, in which we saw this Danger, the Wind turn'd to the *South*, and with a soft Gale carry'd us into *Torbay*, and we happen'd to Land at the most convenient Place, for landing a Body of Horse, that perhaps is to be found round the whole Island; so that in Three Hours Time, above 70000 Horses were Landed, and the Dispatch was such, that the Day after we came into *Torbay*, we were in full March by One a Clock.

Now our Fleet was secur'd, and well cover'd from *West* Winds, which did blow out the next Night into such a Storm, that the Lord *Dartmouth*, who was following us with the King's Fleet, and if he had come up, would very probably have destroy'd our Fleet, where our Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition did still lye: He, I say, was so stopp'd by these *Westerly* Winds, that in Conclusion he was shatter'd by them so, that he cou'd keep out at Sea no longer, but was forced to go into *Portsmouth*.

These signal Turns of the Wind in the Critical Minutes as we wanted them, made a great Impression on all who observ'd them. And tho' happy Providences alone, are not to be look'd on as certain Evidences of God's Favour, yet when one is assur'd the Cause is Just and Good, he may well look on them as the special Blessings of Heaven.

I thought it not unfit to set this out so particularly, because on many other Occasions I have reflected on it in general Words, and now the Reader may see what ground there was for such Reflections.

I pass over the whole Progress of our March, and come now to set out King *James's* Conduct, that indeed amaz'd all the World. When he saw the Turn the Nation was making, and the disjointings of his own Troops and in his
own

own Court: He sent Three Lords to the Prince at *Hungerford*, to ask him what he demanded. To this the Prince by the advice of the Lords who had come into him answer'd, That he desir'd the Law might take Place every where; that a Free Parliament might be call'd; that no Army should come within 30 Miles of *London*; and that a Branch of the Revenue might be set off to Pay his Troops. These were immediately sent to the King; who when he read them, said, *They were better than he expected.* But now I must open a Scene that will shew what sort of People Popish Priests, and a Jesuit at the Head of them, are.

They all saw that nothing could save King *James* in a Free Parliament, but the Total delivering up of Popery, and the passing such Acts, as should be most effectual Bars to the return of Popery among us: So they who resolv'd to Sacrifice the King and every Thing else, rather than see their Designs entirely blasted; studied first to fright the Queen with the apprehensions of somewhat dismal, that she herself, and her Pretended Son, might look for: They also press'd the King, with the Sense of the Dishonour that he must undergo in submitting to the hard Terms that would be impos'd on him: And to both they did so magnifie the Power and the Zeal of the *French* King, that that unhappy Prince came to be perswaded, that it was better to fly to him, than to stay at home, and submit, as they call'd it, to a Victorious Prince, and an offended Parliament.

In this they succeeded so well, that the Queen and her pretended Son went over, and then the King; tho' by the Demands of the Prince, which he receiv'd the Night before, he saw on what Terms he might be safe; Yet he came to that Ignominious Resolution of flying away next Morning in Disguise. And having order'd the great Seal to be left with him the Night before; that was thrown as he pass'd the *Thames*, into the River; which being the great Instrument that sets all things a going in this Government; the Throwing it away in such a manner, seem'd to shew a Resolution to Govern no more by Law, if he shou'd return, but by the Sword. He also abandon'd all his Friends to the Fury of the Mob, and the Nation to the Violencies of the Army, which he order'd to be Disbanded, without paying their Arrears.

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This was a True, a Design'd, and an unforc'd Desertion of the Government, and an exposing the Nation to all the Mischief that he cou'd throw it into. All Things were by the Princes Demands to be referr'd to a Parliament, which he himself seem'd to desire. The Power of the Militia, the Fleet, the Forts and the Army, with the Revenue, were still left in his Hands, this Inglorious Escape occasion'd the Accident at *Feverform*; but yet upon his Return to *White-hall*, no mention was made of calling a Parliament.

The Prince was then at *Windsor*, when the News of that was brought him; and upon that, he ask'd the Opinions of the Lords about him. Some, who afterwards engag'd violently in the *Jacobite* Interest, advis'd the sending King over to *Holland* a Prisoner, and the keeping him in the Castle of *Breda*, till the War both in *England* and *Ireland* was at an End. I cou'd name Persons; for the Prince himself nam'd them to me. But I intend only to set out the Truth of that Transaction without severe Reflections; His answer was, That tho' he could appear against the King at the Head of an Army in this Quarrel; yet now that he had him in his Power, he cou'd not put him under any Restraint; and he knew the Princess cou'd never enjoy her self if any such thing was done. So he rejected these Suggestions with Indignation, and indeed with an Aversion to those who made them.

But it was judg'd necessary, that he shou'd come quickly to *London*; and to avoid all Quarrels, that there shou'd be no Guards about Court, but those of one sort: So a Message was sent to the King, desiring him to withdraw to some House near *London*: *Ham* was nam'd, as being very near; but the King choosing rather to go back to *Rocheſter*, he was left at full Liberry to do what he pleas'd: And the Guards that attended on him, had positive Orders to restrain him in no sort, to hinder none from coming to him, and to Obey him in every thing: All his Protestant Friends press'd him to stay, and to Summon a Parliament, assuring him that there was then a great Turn in the Minds of the City and of the *English* Army; and that Pity and Compassion for him, prevail'd then generally; which was in a good Measure true: But he still adher'd to his First Resolution.

which in a few Days he Executed in a Second Escape. Here was Desertion upon Desertion; and now the Nation was either to continue in an unsettled State, or to call him back, and throw all up to him, and be at his Mercy: Or they were to consider how to arrive at a Settlement, as near the Constitution as was possible.

Those who either adher'd secretly to him, or were entangled with some receiv'd Opinions, propos'd a Regency with the Regal Power, leaving the Title and Dignity of the King in him. But as this cou'd not be legally done, unless the Act for it were past by Kings, Lords, and Commons, which in this Case cou'd not be expected; so if the Oath of Allegiance was still continued, by which all his Power and Authority was to be maintain'd, as well as a Titular Dignity; here was an open Mockery, not without an Impious Profanation, to Swear to a Prince who was to be divested of his Authority; and if any Person shou'd be brought to suffer for acting against the Regent, tho' done by the King's Warrant, and on Design to serve him, yet he was to be Try'd for compassing Death of the King; of which, no Consciencious Jury cou'd find such Person Guilty, so it was plain who'soever shou'd be Regent, must be in a perpetual Struggle with the King, with whom the Legal Authority was still to remain.

This being such an insecure and illegal Frame; it seem'd a much more Natural Way or settling the Nation, to shew that the King by his Proceedings had violated the Constitution in many particulars, some of which were of the Essence of it; and by his Obstinate adhering to these, his refusing to grant legal Remedies in Parliament, and withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom, he had *Abdicated the Government, and left the Throne vacant*, upon which it was both just and necessary for the Nation to secure it self, and yet to depart as little as was possible from the Constitution.

It is true, some lay the main Stress of their Censure upon a great Failure in the proceedings at that time, since no Enquiry was made into the *Birth* of the Pretender. But the whole Nation, as well as the next Heirs of the Crown, having by the strange management of that Affair, conceiv'd

great

great and reasonable Jealousies of an Imposture in it; the *Prince of Orange* did by his Declaration, refer the Enquiry into it to a *Parliament*. The King upon that, did by his sending the *Pretender* with the *Queen* out of the Kingdom, together with all those who were more immediately concern'd in that *Supposed Birth*, make it impossible to Examine into it. Besides, if a Subversion of the Constitution and a Desertion, rather than that the King would come to Just and Legal Remedies, gave the Nation a Right to preserve it self, that must give likewise a power to secure it from the Desperate After-Game of relapsing into the like State, and of falling under severe Revengas for their Asserting their Laws and Liberties; which might justly be apprehended in that Case, even if there had been the greatest Evidence possible of an Uncontested Birth.

Thus was the *Revolution* brought about, and these are the *Revolution Principles*, against which some take Liberties to declaim so zealously; tho' these are all so many Overt Acts of a Conspiracy to deprive the Queen of Her Crown and Dignity, which is founded on Acts past upon it; and tend to Arraign Her Majesty, for the noble part that she acted in the *Revolution*, when she march'd with an Army about Her, Commanded by the Lord Bishop of *London*. *Revolution Principles* cannot justify *Resistance*, but when the provocations given by the Government are such as were then given by King *James*.

I shall dwell no longer on this Subject, into which I wou'd not have engag'd so far, if the Unaccountable Indolence of some, and the Unconquerable Perveriencis of others, had not made it seem necessary to me, to state this Matter once more in a True Light. I go next to give an Account of the following Sermons, that I do now Publish.

I begin with the First *Fast Sermon* that was Preach'd before King *William* and Queen *Mary*; in which I Studied to Discharge my Duty, with such Fidelity and Freedom, that some oppos'd the Ordering it to be Printed, as containing in it some Bold Strokes that ought not to be encourag'd by a Court. Yet I found by the King and

Queen's Behaviour to me, that I had lost none of their Favour by it.

The Second was prepar'd by the late Queen's Order, who sent me the Text, for a Thanksgiving Sermon, after that Glorious Victory before *La Hogue*. I first obey'd Her Majesty's Order; but then humbly represented to Her, That I having Preach'd the Two Thanksgiving Sermons in the two preceding Years, it wou'd look as if no Body was willing to perform that Office, if it was still laid on me. The Queen saw how Reasonable this was, and order'd the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* to Preach on that Occasion: So this Sermon, tho' prepar'd, was not Preach'd; but since it did lye by me, I thought it not improper to revive the Memory of that great Action, and to Celebrate the due Praises of the Noble Admiral that Conducted it.

The Third Sermon was the First that was Preached before the Queen upon Her Accession to the Throne, it falling then to be my Turn to Preach that *Sunday* in time of *Lent*.

The Fourth Sermon was preach'd in the Year 1683. upon a great Person's wavering in Religion, who afterwards turn'd *Papist*. I was desir'd to go to the Root of *Popery*, in the the plainest, but the deepest Manner I cou'd. A Copy of the Sermon was afterwards got from me; so it being now in other Hands, I thought fit to *Print* it my self: For there is perhaps, as much Occasion given for such a Sermon now, as there might be then.

The Fifth and Sixth Sermons were preach'd to the Lord *Russel* in *Newgate*, the Day before he Suffer'd. I had been with him Four whole Afternoons before that; for he desir'd to be alone till Twelve of the Clock. From that Conversation I was naturally led to most of the Meditations that are in them. He did all that while possess his Soul with so clear a Serenity, in such a Calm and Christian manner, that I still reckon it a particular Happiness, as well as an Honour that I attended then upon him. Before I preach'd these Sermons, he received the Sacrament from Dr. *Tillotson's* Hands. When the Office was ended, he shew'd us the Paper he had prepared for his last Words

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We had some Disconſult with him about the Lawfulneſs of Conſultations in order to Reſiſtance, in the State in which Things were then. He thought the Violence uſed in the Matter of the Sheriffs of London, ſhew'd a Deſign to Deſtroy ſuch Men as the Court thought ſtood in their Way, of which he was among the Firſt; he pray'd God he might be the laſt. We thought that was indeed an in-juſtifiable Action: But till a total Subverſion came, we ſtill thought it was unlawful to Reſiſt. He ſaid, *It would be then too late. He had all his Life long had other Notions of the Engliſh Government; he wou'd not then enter into further Debates upon theſe Matters.* He ſpent the reſt of the Day till towards the Evening in Devotion. Then his Children and Friends came to him. He ſpoke to his Children in a way ſuited their Age, with a good measure of Chearfulneſs, and took leave of his Friends in ſo calm a Manner, as ſurpriz'd them all. The parting with his Lady was not ſo eaſie to him: She ſtay'd with him all Day, and till Eleven 'at Night; then they parted in a ſolemn grave Silence: Upon which when ſhe was gone, he ſaid to me, *The Bitterneſs of Death is now paſt*; and he run out into a Diſcourſe of Her, which ſhe well deſerv'd. But he was willing to be diverted to other Thoughts: For he felt a Tenderneſs that began to melt him too much. I could not reſtrain my ſelf from giving in this Place a free vent to the Honour and Juſtice I muſt even pay to the Memory of that Great and Good Man.

The Seventh Sermon was preach'd at Salisbury, ſeveral Deaths coming one after another; and on Concluſion, Mr. Young Dean of Salisbury, dying upon Two Days Sickneſs, I upon that preach'd on Death; The Sermon was heard with great Attention, not without ſome Emotion; ſo I join it to the reſt. And this is all I think fit to ſay in a Preface.

I wiſh the true ſtating of Matters as they ſtood at the Revolution, may have the deſired Effect on Well-diſpoſ'd Minds: As for thoſe whoſe Prejudices have too deep a Root to be eaſily remov'd, I pray God bring them to a better Senſe of Things, before it is too late. It will be but a Melancholly After-game, when Men by their Folly

Folly have brought Ruin on themselves, and their Country, to say, *Who could have thought it?* When it is plain that nothing else could have been look'd for. But if we must be ruin'd by the Treachery of some, and the Folly of others. *The Will of the Lord be done.*

F I N I S.

THE
P R E F A C E
OF THE
Pastoral Care.

IT is above Twenty Years since this Book was first Published by me, and now that those who have a Concern in it think fit to reprint it, I thought it became me to review it carefully, to see if there was Cause given to alter any Part of it, or to add any thing to it.

I wrote it when I was newly put into the Post in which by the Providence of G O D I still am. So that a longer Course of Experience and Observation may have brought more Things to my View than I could at that Time reflect on.

I own this is my favourite Book : which, if it has raised Indignation in the Minds of some, who are perhaps sensible that many Things in it touch them in too tender a Part; yet on the other Hand it has brought me such serious Acknowledgments from many Persons, to me otherwise unknown

unknown but by their Letters, of the Benefit they received by it; that I humbly bless G O D who made me an Instrument in any Sort of Promoting H I S Glory, and Edifying H I S Church, by awakening the Consciences of so many Clergymen to a better Sense of their Duty, and to more Diligence in the Discharge of it.

I am now in the 70th Year of my Age; and as I cannot speak long to the World in any Sort, so I cannot hope for a more solemn Occasion than this, of speaking with all due Freedom both to the present, and to the succeeding Ages: Therefore I lay hold on it to give a free Vent to those sad Thoughts that lie on my Mind both Day and Night, and are the Subject of many secret Mournings. I dare appeal to that G O D to whom the Secrets of my Heart are known, and to whom I am shortly to give an Account of my Ministry, that I have the true Interests of this Church ever before my Eyes, and that I pursue them with a sincere and fervent Zeal; if I am mistaken in the Methods I follow, G O D, to whom the Integrity of my Heart is known, will not lay that to my Charge. I cannot look on, without the deepest Concern, when I see imminent Ruin hanging over this Church, and by Consequence over the whole Reformation. The outward State of Things is black enough, G O D knows; but that which heightens my Fears, rises chiefly from the inward State into which we are unhappily fallen. I will, in examining this, confine my self to that which is the Subject of the following Book; I mean the Clergy.

Our *Ember Weeks* are the Burden and Grief of my Life. The much greater Part of those who come to be ordained, are ignorant to a Degree not to be apprehended by those who are not obliged to know it. The easiest Part of Knowledge is that to which they are the greatest Strangers; I mean the plainest Parts of the Scriptures, which they say, in Excuse of their Ignorance, that their Tutors in the Universities never mention the Reading of to them; so that they can give no Account, or at least a very imperfect one of the Contents even of the Gospels. Those who have read some few Books, yet never seem to have read the Scriptures. Many cannot give a tolerable Account even of the

the Catechism it self, how short and plain soever. They cry and think it a sad Disgrace to be denied Orders, tho' the Ignorance of some is such, that in a well regulated State of Things, they wou'd appear not knowing enough to be admitted to the Holy Sacrament.

This does often tear the Heart. The Case is not much better in many, who having got into Orders, come for Institution, and cannot make it appear that they have read the Scriptures, or any one good Book since they were Ordained; so that the small Measure of Knowledge upon which they got into Holy Orders not being improved, is in a Way to be quite lost; and then they think it a great Hardship if they are told, they must know the Scriptures and the Body of Divinity better, before they can be trusted with a Care of Souls: These Things pierce one's Soul, and make him often cry out, *Oh that I had Wings like a Dove, for then would I fly away and be at Rest.* What are we like to grow to? In what a Case are we, to deal with any Adversary, Atheist, Papist, or Dissenters, or in any Sort to promote the Honour of G O D, and carry on the great Concerns of the Gospel, when so gross an Ignorance in the Fundamentals of Religion has spread it self so much among those who *ought to teach others*, and yet need that one *teach them the first Principles of the Oracles of G O D?*

Politicks and Party eat out among us not only Study and Learning, but that which is the only Thing that is more valuable a true Sense of Religion, with a sincere Zeal in Advancing that for which the Son of G O D both lived and died, and to which those who are received into Holy Orders have vowed to dedicate their Lives and Labours, Clamours of Scandal in any of the Clergy are not frequent, it is true, and G O D be thanked for it: But a remiss unthinking Course of Life, with little or no Application to Study, and the bare performing of that, which, if not done, would draw Censures when complained of, without ever pursuing the Duties of the Pastoral Care in any suitable Degree, is but too common, as well as too evident.

But if there is too visible a Coldness among us, in that which requires our greatest Heat and Zeal ; there is a great deal of flaming Heat about Matters, in which more Gentleness and a milder Temper would both look better, and more effectually compass that which is designed by it : I mean the bringing the Dissenters into our Communion. Bitter Railings, and a rough Behaviour, cannot make many Converts. To study the Grounds of their Separations thoroughly, to answer them calmly and solidly, and to treat their Persons with all Gentleness, expressing no Uneasiness at the Liberty granted them by Law, is a Method that will never fail of succeeding to a great Degree, especially on the rising Generation. Other Methods do confirm their Prejudices, and heighten their Aversion to those who treat them as Enemies on design to ruin them, and not as Friends on design to gain them.

GOD be thanked we are delivered from a Remnant of Popery, that stuck too long to us, I mean Persecution for Conscience sake : For the Breaches on a Man's Liberty or Goods, are as really a Persecution, as that which strikes at his Person : They may be in some Instances more uneasy ; as a single Death is not so formidable, as to be forced to live under great Necessities, perhaps with a numerous Family. And if we judge of this Matter by our Saviour's Rule, of *doing to others what we would have others do to us*, our Consciences would soon decide the Question : If we will but honestly ask our selves how we would have those of Religion deal with us, if we were living in Countries where we must depart from the Legal Establishment, if we do truly follow the Dictates of our Conscience. But if our Zeal in Point of Conformity seems too strong, there is no great Reason to suspect many of much Zeal, with Relation to Popery, tho' that is our standing Enemy, perpetually employed in working our Ruin, with many Hands and much Heat ; while we seem to be in a State of Indolence and Insensibility on that Side, as if there was no Danger from thence. When at any Time we are in a fright, we are apt to cry out ; but that is no sooner over, than we are in no Apprehensions of any further Danger. And to their great Comfort, we have found out a new Division to add to those we laboured under before ; which we know they managed very dextrously for their own Ends, shifing Sides as a Turn

was to be served by it : But now the Mine is more successfully play'd, since not only the Breach between us and Dissenters is very artfully widened, but we are unhappily broken among our selves ; and under the Names of *high* and *low* Church, there is a new Scene opened for Jealousy and Animosity, which has been managed with such Art and Success, that Bodies of Men owning the same Religion and Worship, and the same Government both in Temporals and Spirituals, are yet as much alienated from one another, if not more, than if their Differences were ever so great and visible.

I will say nothing that may justly provoke any ; but since I myself am ranked among the *Low* Church-men, I will open all that I know that is particular to them, and then leave it to others to judge, what Reason can be given for entertaining such hard Thoughts of them.

They are cordially and conscientiously Zealous for the Church, as Established by Law : But yet they think no Human Constitution is so perfect, but that it may be made better, and that the Church would be both more secure and more unexceptionable, if the Administration of the Discipline were put into other Hands, and in a better Method. They lay the Foundation of all that they believe in the Christian Religion, in the Scriptures : These, and these only are the Measures and Standard of their Faith. No great Names nor Shews of Authority over-awe them : They search the Scriptures, there they seek and find their Faith.

They think that in Matters declared to be indifferent, no Harm could follow on it, if some Regard were had to the Scruples of those who divide from us, in order to the fortifying the Whole by Uniting us among our selves : But till that can be done, they think a kind Deportment towards Dissenters softens their Prejudices, and disposes them to hearken to the Reasons which they offer to them, with all the Force they can, but without the Asperity of Words, or a contemptuous Behaviour ; in which they have succeeded

succeeded so well, that they see no Cause to change their Conduct.

They do indeed make a great Difference between Dissenters and Papists: They consider the one as a Handful of People true to the Protestant Religion, and to our National Interests, not capable of doing us much Mischief, and who are, as far as appears to them, contented with their Toleration, and are only desirous to secure and maintain it. They have another and a very different Opinion of Popery: They consider that Church not only with Relation to the many Opinions and Practices held by them, such as Transubstantiation, Purgatory, and the Worshipping Saints and Images, and a great many more: They are persuaded that these are false and ill-grounded, but they could easily bear with them, as they do with other Errors: But they consider Popery as a Conspiracy against the Liberty and Peace of Mankind, on design to Engross the Wealth of the World into their Hands; and to destroy all that stand in their Way, sticking at no Practice, how false, base, or cruel soever, that can advance this. This is the true Ground of their Zeal against Popery, and indeed against every Thing that has a Tendency that Way.

The Pretending to an Independency of the Church on the State, is not only in their Opinion a plain Attack made on the Supremacy vested by Law in the Crown, and a Casting a Disgrace on our Reformers, and on every Step made in the Reformation, which are openly owned by the chief Promoters of this new Conceit; But it is a direct Opposition to the sam'd Place so much stretched by the same Persons to serve other Purposes, in the 13th of the *Romans*, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*, in which all Subjects are equally comprehended. The Laws of GOD are certainly of a superior Obligation, to any human Authority; but where these Laws are silent, certainly all Subjects of what Sort soever are bound to obey the Laws of the Land where they live.

The Raising the Power and Authority of sacred Functions beyond what is founded on clear Warrants in Scripture,
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is they think the readiest Way to give the World such a Jealousy of them, and such an Aversion to them, as may make them lose the Authority that they ought to have, while they pretend to that they have not.

They dare not Unchurch all the Bodies of the Protestants beyond Sea; nor deny to our Dissenters at home, the federal Rights common to all Christians; or leave them to uncovenanted Mercy. They do not annul their Baptisms, or think that they ought to be baptized again in a more regular Manner, before they can be accounted Christians. They know of no Power in a Priest to pardon Sin, other than the Declaring the Gospel Pardon, upon the Conditions on which it is offered. They know of no Sacrifice in the Eucharist, other than the Commemorating that on the Cross, with the Oblation of the Prayers, Praises, and Almsgiving, prescribed in the Office. They are far from Condemning private Judgment in Matters of Religion: This strikes at the Root of the whole Reformation, which could never have been compassed, if private Men have not a Right to judge for themselves; on the contrary they think every Man is bound to judge for himself, which indeed he ought to do, in the Fear of God, and with all Humility and Caution. They look on all these Notions as Steps towards Popery; tho' they do not conclude, that all those who have made them, designed That by so doing.

This is a short Account of the Low-Church mens Notions, with Relation to Matters of Religion among us. As to our Temporal Concerns, they think all that Obedience and Submission that is settled by our Laws, to the Persons of our Princes, ought to be paid them for Conscience sake: But if a misguided Prince shall take on him to dissolve our Constitution, and to subject the Laws to his Pleasure, they think that if God offers a Remedy, it is to be received with all Thankfulness. For these Reasons they rejoiced in the Revolution, and continue Faithful and True to the Settlement then made; and to the subsequent Settlements. They think there is a full Power in the Legislature to settle the Crown, and to secure the Nations: And so they have taken the Oaths enjoined, with a good Conscience, and with fixed Resolutions of adhering firmly to them, without any other Views but such as the Laws and the Oaths

Oaths pursuant to them do direct. They know of no unalterable or indefeasible Right, but what is founded on the Law.

This is their fixed Principle ; and they are the more fixed in this, when they remember that a Prince educated among us, and singularly obliged by the Zeal our Church expressed for his Advancement to the Throne, upon which he made great Acknowledgments and Promises, and who by his Temper seemed as much inclined to keep them, as his Religion could admit of ; yet, upon his Elevation, did so entirely forget all this, that he seemed peculiarly sharpened against those, who, of all others, had the least Reason to have expected it from him.

This was notorious and evident in the Father : What then can be expected from him who calls himself his Son, who has had his Breeding in an absolute Government, where Protestants are persecuted with an unrelenting Cruelty, and who has been obliged to wander so long beyond Sea, and stands attainted and abjured here, and is loaded with other Indignities ? But that as his Religion is still the same cruel and bloody Conspiracy against Protestants that it was, so it must have its full Swing in one sharpen'd by so much Provocation.

It betrays a monstrous Ignorance of the Principles and Maxims, as well as of the History of Popery, to imagine that they can ever depart from the Design of extirpating Hereticks, settled by so much Authority, held Sacred by them. Every Look in the *Low Church-man* towards a Popish Pretender, is to him both Perjury and Treason.

I have thus freely opened all that I know of the Principles of those called the *Low Church-men* among us. I will not pretend to tell what are the Principles of those called the *High Church-men* ; I know them too little to pretend to tell what their Maxims and Views are. I will with great Joy own my Mistakes and Misapprehensions of any of them, who, upon this candid Avowing what the *Low Church-men* hold, will come to have juster and more charitable Thoughts

of them, who, upon this candid Avowing what the *Lwa* Church-men hold, will come to have juster and more charitable Thoughts of them, and upon that will concur with them in such Measures and Counsels as may yet give us some Hope, if that is not now too late, or may be at least an Abatement of our Misery, if not a Reprieve from it. I unwillingly mention a long Disappointing among us, as to Convocation Matters.

I will avoid saying any thing that may give a new Irritation, my Design being to do all I can to heal our Breaches. I will not enter into the Merits of the Cause further, than to observe that the Bishops have begun no new Practices, but go in the Steps in which their Predecessors went, without varying from their Practices in a Tittle: They find themselves bound down to the Methods they adhere to by such a Series of Precedents, that unless the Legislature interposes, they think they cannot alter them. They have made no new Attempts, nor have they invaded any Right of which they found the Clergy in Possession. And what is there in all this to occasion such tragical Outcries? And to engage so many of the Bodies of the Clergy into Jealousies of their Bishops, and into Combinations against them, as if they were betraying the Church and its Liberties.

'Tis true, many of us oppos'd the *Occasional Bill*, from which such great Things were expected. We thought there were ill Designs under it; we thought it ill-tim'd; we looked on it as tending to a Breach on the Toleration: And now, that the Bill is pass'd without any Opposition, we hear of no great Effects it has had; nor are Jealousies extinguish'd; the chief Promoters of it are scarce thanked for it. But since we are so openly attack'd, and, as it were, expos'd to the Insults and Fury of distracted Multitudes, we may be pardoned, if we venture on somewhat like an Imitation of what the great Apostle writ upon a like Occasion, calling it indeed a *Folly*, for it will pass for such with inveterate and inflamed Spirits. What have other Bishops done to express their Zeal for the Church, and their Fidelity to their Vows, and to what became their Character and Station, that we have not done? Have we not lived so, that we may

say, *Ye are Witnesses*; and, which is more, *G O D* also, how holily, justly and unblameably we have behaved our selves among you? How ready we have been both to assist and support you? How constant have we been Preaching in Season and out of Season, opening the whole Counsels of *G O D* to the Flock committed to our Charge? How careful are we in Examining and Instructing those who come to us for Orders and Institutions? How frequent in Confirming, and in the other Duties belonging to our Function? So that we may say, What have we done, or what have we left undone, to merit the unkind Returns we meet with? What Reason have we given to the World by our Manner of living, to think we had our Posts only for the Advantages we reap by them, and that we do it even against our Consciences, and are only waiting an Opportunity to betray them.

This is such a Pitch both of Impiety and Baseness, that few of the worst Sort of Libertines are capable of it; and yet how oft have we been charged with it? If this had come only from the Enemies of our present Constitution, on Design to destroy the Reputation to which we hope we have some Right, it was what we might expect from active and indigent Writers, who are looking for another Face of Things, hoping then to be enriched by our Spoils. But that those who have taken all the Oaths enjoined by Law, and who daily concur in all the publick Devotions, should entertain and spread such Calumnies, and act as the Under-Workmen to those who seek our Ruin, is that which deserves the severest Censures.

Great Regard is indeed due to such as avow their Principles, and act according to them; especially when they are Losers and Sufferers by it; even their Passions and Frailties are to be lamented and gently censured. But the Impiety of Mens taking Oaths against their Consciences, and, in Hope to compensate for that, their acting contrary to them, is of so monstrous a Nature, that our Language does not afford Words black enough to set out its Deformity,

We are soon to go off the Stage, to a Region of Peace and Love, where Malice and Envy cannot follow us; he to whom our Integrity is known, will pardon all our Frailties, and even all our Omissions; and will deal with us according to our sincere Endeavours; from whose Hands we may expect to receive the more entire Reward, the less of it that we receive from Men.

Our late Blessed Primate was persecuted by Malice to his Grave; and that has followed him ever since he was laid in the Dust. His great Concern at those black Efforts of Malice, that he was pursued with, was, because he saw they stood in the Way to defeat all the good Designs with which his Mind laboured. It is true, that Retirement to which his high Post led him, he never embarking in Designs that he thought foreign to it, gave him Leisure to review and retouch the noblest Body of Sermons that, I hope, I may be allowed to say, this Nation, or the World ever saw; which I mention the rather here, because they have been published since this Book was first printed.

His chief support, next to his own Conscience, and his Confidence in God, was from our late Blessed QUEEN; who was incessantly employed, in possessing her Mind with the best Schemes, that were either laid before her by others, or suggested to her by her own Royal Heart, for Correcting every Thing that was amiss, and Improving every Thing wanted finishing among us. And she was waiting for a happy Peace to set about the executing them: She had arrived at such a superior Degree of Knowledge, and had such a Force of Reasoning, with an irresistible Sweetness of Temper, that if our Sins had not provoked God to blast all those Hopes, by her early Admission to a better Crown, we might have seen a glorious Face put on our Church, with relation to all its Concerns.

I am in some Sort obliged to mention Her, because I writ this Book by her Order, as well as by our Primate's, as an Attempt to prepare the Scene to many noble Designs, which may be opened at some Time or other, if ever we are so happy as to endeavour to carry on our Constitution to Perfection; which in our present distracted, If not des-

perate State, is far out of View, and therefore must be reserved to a more proper Occasion.

But to return to the sad View of our Distractions at Home : The Bishops, who find themselves so unjustly censured, and their Designs so unhappily obstructed, ought to humble themselves before God ; for it is meet to be said to him, *I have born Chastisement ; that which I know not teach thou me.* They ought to Examine and Consider how far their other Sins may have provoked God to deny his Blessing to their best Endeavours ; they ought to ask themselves, what have they done to render them unworthy to build up the House of God, and to repair its Breaches ; they ought to mourn in secret, both for their own Sins, and for the Sins of those who set themselves against them. They ought to search and try their own Hearts, to find out if their Pride or Vanity, their Love of Ease and Pleasure, or any other secret Sin is at Root, and defeats all their Labours ; they ought to pray more earnestly both for themselves and their Families, for their Clergy and their People ; and in so doing they may hope either to draw down a Blessing from Heaven on all that they set about ; or at least that their Prayers shall return into their own Bosom.

They ought also to cry mightily to God, that if they are to have a Share in the fiery Tryal, they may be so strengthened in the Inner Man, that they may by no unbecoming Practices decline or avoid it ; but may rejoice if they are called to suffer for the Name of Christ, and to seal that Doctrine which they have so long preached, with their Blood ; and so may glorify him by their *patient Continuance in well-doing*, till they receive their *Crown*. This will be through the Blessing of God an effectual Means, either to dissipate the Clouds that seem to gather, and are ready to break out into a Storm and horrible Tempest, or to procure such a Measure of divine Assistances to them in their Sufferings, as may make their Blood a Seed for a noble Spring of a better State of Things among us. If with Bishops so employing their Time, many both of their Clergy and Laity did concur in lying in the Dust before God, and turning to him with their whole Hearts, we might hope to see better Times, than
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we have now in View. God has often delivered us, when we were near the last Extremities; we have seen in our own Time, such a Chain of kind Providences happily Interposing, when we saw no reasonable Prospect, that we ought not to give all for lost, how dark soever the Face of Things may look, if we bring our selves to such a State, that we may have still a Right to hope for the like Protection.

It cannot be denied but the Appearance is formidable, when we see that *Prince* who has engaged the longest and the deepest in the Design of Extirpating our Religion, get out of all his Troubles, and accomplish his vast Designs, that seemed once to be so blasted, that they could not be retrieved: Another Scene is now opening to him that promises all he can wish for, and must bring such an Accumulation of Power and Treasure to him, that humanly speaking, Nothing can stand in his Way. When a great Alliance is once quite dissolved, and when a Word so often broken, and Edicts so often violated, are trusted to and relied on; such an unexpected Turn will no doubt be construed as a Reward from Heaven for his Zeal against Heresy: And may very probably encourage him to finish what he has done at home, by bringing us under the same Calamity.

We know what Engagements he lies under to a dying Prince; but we cannot know how far his Bigottry may even out do these, when he finds himself at the Height of Power and Wealth that he is almost possessed of: Promises and Oaths can work but feebly on one so accustomed to break through them.

When not only Dispensations but Solicitations from *Rome*, with the Practices of a Confessor, the View of that Glory that the Work must bring him on Earth, with the imaginary View of a more eternal Weight of Glory in Heaven, concur; what may not be apprehended from thence? Chiefly when such of that Religion, whose Interests obliged them hitherto to join in preserving us, seeing these all abandoned and blasted, may either be at best indifferent

different Spectators, or the Bigottry that surrounds them may be quickned, by a Desire of revenging what they will call the giving them up, to concur in compleating our Ruin, which in such a State of Things cannot reasonably be thought to be far from us. Besides, if an avowed Departing from the sacred Ties of *Treaties* and *Alliances* is once openly practiced, it may prove a fatal Precedent. Such Maxims are catching and contagious. The Woe denounced by the Prophet against those *that deal treacherously when they are not dealt treacherously with, that when they shall make an End to deal treacherously they shall be dealt treacherously with*, may come heavily with a Face of Retribution, and without Pity.

Upon the whole Matter, that I may bring this Discourse to a Conclusion. As our Dis-union does not only weaken us, but diverts us from that which ought to be our main Concern, to the unhappy Consequences that follow formed Parties; so if we will not take Warning from our Saviour's Words, *That a City or Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand, but must come to an End*, we have Reason to apprehend that such a Breach, even without the Advantage that an Enemy may make of it, will be fatal; while by our *Devouring one another, we may come to be consumed of one another*: But how much more certain will this be, if we have a watchful and powerful Enemy so near us? To whom we may justly apply the Character given of the evil Spirit, *That he goes about as a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour*. But even our Union, tho' it may fortify us in the Methods of human Policy, yet it will not signify much, unless we do unite in order to our applying our selves to the great Duties of our Profession, so as to secure the Favour and Protection of Heaven. We ought not to hope, that if we continue still in our Sins, and in our Security, saying with the *Jews*, *The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*; or in the modern Stile, *The Church, the Church*, we shall not at last fall under the severest of all Judgments denounced by St. Paul against the unbelieving *Jews*, *in the Words of Isaiah, Go unto this People and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and Seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive; for the Heart*
of

of this People is waxed gross, and their Ears are dull of Hearing, and their Eyes have they closed, lest they should see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Hearts, and should be converted, and I should heal them.

To avert all this, let us, the Priests and Ministers of the Lord, weep before HIM, and say, Spare thy People, O Lord, and give not thy Heritage to Reproach, that the Heathen (or Idolaters) should rule over them. Wherefore should they say among the People, where is their GOD, where is their Church, where is their Reformation? In these Exercises I desire to employ many of my own Hours; and to these I invite all who have a true Zeal for GOD and HIS Church.

Salisbury, the 15th of
November, 1712.

Gi. Sarum.

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20. With your first visit to the bank, you will find that the bank has a large number of accounts and that the bank is a very important part of the community. The bank is a very important part of the community and it is very important that you should have a good understanding of the bank and its services. The bank is a very important part of the community and it is very important that you should have a good understanding of the bank and its services.

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Salisbury, Mass. 17th Nov 1871.

Gi. Zamm.

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